SCOTLAND'S · DEBT TO · PROTESTANTISM

HECTOR MACPHERSON

With Love from

Andrew

16th January 1993

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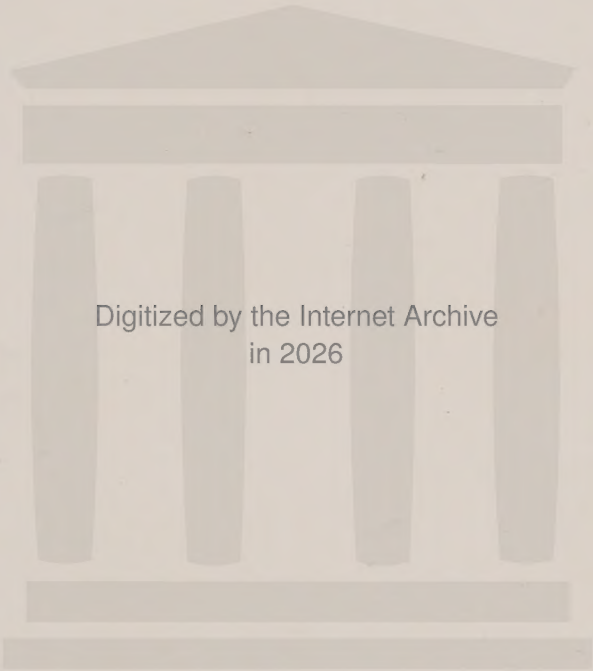
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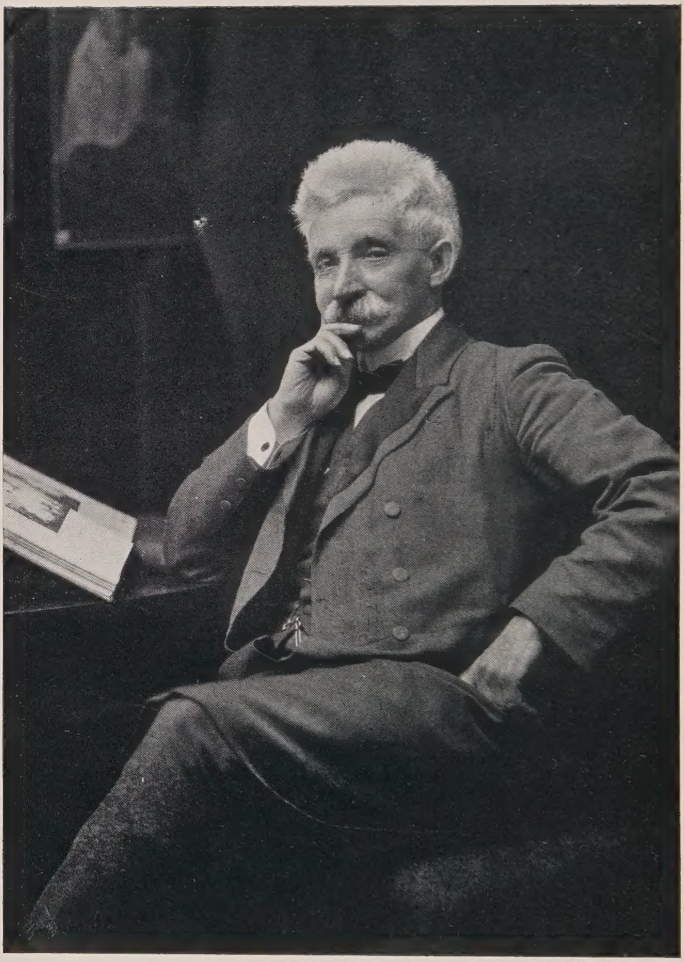

[*W. Crooke, Edin.*

Hector Macpherson

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Scotland's Debt to Protestantism

BY

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'A CENTURY OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT,'
'SCOTLAND'S BATTLES FOR SPIRITUAL INDEPENDENCE,'
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Scotland's Debt to Protestantism.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

"THE day is not distant and it may be very near," remarked Sir Robert Peel on one occasion, "when we shall have to fight the battle of the Reformation over again." Since these words were uttered events have gone far to confirm the fears of the great statesman. In the natural course of things, as Shakespeare has it, when the brains are out, the man should die. The Papacy defied the natural course of things. At the Reformation, thanks to the heroic labours of Luther, Calvin, and Knox, the Papacy was completely worsted. Luther roused the national conscience against

scandals which were alike a degradation of religion and an insult to humanity; Calvin purged theology of its pagan elements, and reconstructed it on its primitive evangelical basis; while Knox, by a statesmanlike application of Reformation principles, broke the back of papal domination in Scotland, and laid the foundations of a healthy, progressive national life. So decided was the victory of the Reformation that the complete overthrow of the Papacy seemed assured. Fifty years from the day when Luther renounced and denounced Rome, Protestantism was victorious in half the States of Europe. In the words of Macaulay: "In England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wurtemburg, the Palatinate, in the seven cantons of Switzerland, the Reformation had completely triumphed: and in all the other countries on this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees it seemed at the point of triumphing."

In the course of the long struggle the Papacy recovered much of the lost ground, and within the memory of those now living it has made serious inroads upon Churches and Governments whose constitutions are fundamentally Protestant. How are we to account for this? Macaulay goes to the heart of the matter when

he describes the Church of Rome as occupying the highest place "among the contrivances which have been devised for deceiving and controlling mankind." The Papacy has certainly deceived great numbers of Protestants with regard to its real intentions. It pretends to be no longer anxious to revive the infamous methods of the Inquisition; it meekly advocates toleration; and, if a few fanatical Protestants would allow it, desires to live and let live. Students of the Romish Church know that in it there is more of the wisdom of the serpent than the harmlessness of the dove. When opportunity arises its leaders throw off the mask, and, as in the old days, feverishly attempt to grasp the sword of despotic power. In one of his frank moods Cardinal Manning declared it to be the duty of the Roman priests to subjugate and subdue, to bend and break the will of England. "England," he said, "is the head of Protestantism, the centre of its movements and the stronghold of its power. Weakened in England it is paralysed everywhere, conquered in England it is conquered throughout the world. England once restored to the Faith becomes the Evangelist of the world." There is nothing here about toleration and equality, but domination; and Rome's success in deceiving great masses of Protestants

in regard to her aims and methods is helping her to realise her papal ideals. Nearly a century ago the famous preacher, Robert Hall, drew attention to the dangerous apathy among Protestants in regard to the Papacy. "Innumerable symptoms," he said, "appear of a prevailing disposition to contemplate the doctrines of Popery with less disgust, and to witness their progress with less alarm, than has ever been known since the Reformation. We seem on this occasion to have interpreted in its most literal sense the injunction of 'hoping all things and believing all things.' We persist in maintaining that the adherents of Popery are materially changed in contradiction to their expressed disavowal, and while they make a boast of the infallibility of their creed and unalterable nature of their religion, we persist in the belief of its having experienced we know not what melioration and improvement."

The Tractarian movement roused the British mind for a time out of its apathy. Rome stood quietly by while renegade Anglicism played into her hands. With sleepless energy Rome pursues her aim. Domination is the goal of all her efforts, which vary with circumstances. She demands toleration, but gives none. Into all departments of the national life

the papal emissaries seek to enter, and by their plausibility they manage to delude unsuspecting Protestants into the notion that Rome is a branch of the Church of Christ actuated by the sole desire to spread, according to her lights, a knowledge of the Gospel.

Apathetic Protestants, who pride themselves on their toleration and detestation of sectarianism, have completely lost sight of the fact, which our Scottish forefathers knew to their cost, that Romanism is something more than a religion—namely, a huge despotism, fatal to the civil as well as to the spiritual liberties of mankind. History records nothing to justify this kind of toleration, which is mainly of the spurious type. Where would Scotland stand to-day if the Reformers, in the attitude of modern Laodiceans, had stood idly by while Romanists, in the spirit of rancorous bigotry, were striking at the roots of civil and religious liberty? Writers who are at ease in Zion, and who have reached a stage of religious indifference which they mistake for historical impartiality, are fond of denouncing the Reformers for what they consider their fanatical campaign against the Roman Catholic Church. They delight in representing the Reformation period as a kind of ecclesiastical Donnybrook, in which the Protestant leaders

in the general scrimmage forgot the claims of Christian charity. Those writers living in quieter times and enjoying the blood-bought fruits of the heroic struggle overlook the fact that the Reformers were in death-grips with the representatives of a Church whose ideal is absolute domination, and whose watchword is relentless persecution. It is idle to say that persecution is an accident of the Papal system; it is of its very essence. The history of Romanism is written in letters of blood. To what are we to attribute the gospel of inhumanity which through the centuries the Papacy has practised, and practised with Satanic ruthlessness?

In the fatal year 800, when Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Romans by Leo III., there was set upon Western Europe the Papacy, a colossal system whose object is the despotic rule of man and society in all spheres, sacred and secular. The Papacy claimed not only to possess the Keys of Heaven, but also to rule the earth. Academic philosophers like Comte trace the supremacy of the Church in the Middle Ages to its moral superiority; its ethical power, we are told, awed into subordination the rude forces of feudalism; it was a case of the survival of the fittest. History tells a different

tale. The Papacy won its way to universal domination along the tortuous paths of cunning and fraud. The Popes, according to one authority, sanctioned, if they did not create, in the middle part of the ninth century, the stupendous forgery of the False Decretals, which imposed on all Christendom for the six and a half centuries before the Reformation. The unknown author exalts beyond measure the power of the Papacy. In the conflicts between rival powers superstition, aided by the False Decretals, gave the victory almost always to the Pope. For instance, the fiction of the Donation of Constantine gives the Roman States to the Pope, not as a mere endowment subject to the law of the Empire, but as a Kingdom.

In Hildebrand's statement, entitled 'Quid valeant Pontifices Romani,' he asserts that the Pope has power to excommunicate, to form new dioceses; that he alone may use the Imperial insignia; that his feet alone are kissed by all the kings of the earth; that his name is alone recited in the Churches, and is the supreme (unicum) name in the world. He may depose Emperors, he may supersede Bishops. He alone may preside at a Council. No Book of Canons may be made without him. He may be judged by none. Hildebrand claimed of great kings that they should obey

him. That this was no idle claim was shown in the dispute between Hildebrand, better known by his pontifical title, Gregory VII., and the Emperor Henry IV. For daring to disobey him, Gregory excommunicated Henry, cancelled his right to the kingdom of Germany and Italy, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Henry's spirit was subdued, and he resolved to beg in person for the clemency of the Pope. He crossed the Alps in the depth of winter; and arriving at the gates of the Pope's residence, the castle of Canossa, he was kept for three days with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and his body clothed with a piece of coarse woollen cloth. On the fourth day, Henry was admitted to the presence of the Pope, who absolved him from the excommunication. Gregory held firmly, and did not hesitate to act upon, the view that to the Pope, as God's Vicar, all mankind are subject and all rulers are responsible: so that he, the giver of the crown, may excommunicate and depose. Writing to William the Conqueror, Gregory stated that lest the creatures whom God in His goodness had formed in His own image should be drawn astray into fatal dangers, He had provided in the apostolic and royal dignities the means of ruling through

divers offices. Further, Gregory tells William that for his own safety he should obey him.

The Pope came to be regarded as the sole representative of Deity on earth, and from him must the Empire be held. To such an extent did the Papal pretensions go that Boniface VIII. showed himself to a crowd of pilgrims at the jubilee 1300, seated on the throne of Constantine, arrayed with sword and crown and sceptre, shouting aloud "I am Cæsar—I am Emperor." Such insolent pretensions were enforced by what was known as the "Interdict," which, involving the excommunication of whole communities, was only too well calculated to bring into abject submission the mightiest potentates in the ages of ignorance, credulity, and superstition. The sentence hurled by the Pope had a twofold effect. It suspended all the ordinances of religion, the dead were buried in ditches, and no one durst rejoice, or eat flesh, or shave his beard, or pay decent attention to his person or apparel. In the next world the gates of heaven were closed by the Pope against refractory kings and nations.[1]

Did the occupants of the Papal Chair justify by their lives the claim of being Christ's representatives upon earth? Were the heads of

[1] 'Romanism Analysed,' pp. 64, 65.

Holy Mother Church burning and shining lights in the realm of Sanctity? It is no fanatical Protestant, but a calm philosophical thinker, the late Dr Martineau, who thus writes of the Popes: "For ages, Pagan and Christian, it seemed the fate of Rome to be the tragic theatre of the world, but the darkest scenes of the declining Empire are paralleled by the revolting crimes of an ascendant Papacy." After detailing the hideous acts of the Holy Father Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar—whose criminal records are unsurpassed in the annals of guilt—Dr Martineau proceeds: "The orgies of the palace, the assassinations in the street, the swarm of flourishing informers, the sale of justice, of divorce, of spiritual offices and honours, turned the holy seat into an asylum of concupiscence and passion, and startled men into the belief that Antichrist had come. . . . And of the new Court at Avignon, we have the report of an eyewitness who calls it a third Babylon, the shameless abode of cruelty, avarice, and lust, where honour, innocence, and piety are of no avail against gold, and heaven and Christ are put up to sale." Like pope like priest. The moral putridity of the heads rapidly infected the extremities, with the result that the Church in consequence of its seething immoralities stank in the nostrils of the common

people. When Luther raised the standard of revolt against the shameless sale of Indulgences, he struck a chord in the popular heart which vibrates to this day.

Alike in the sacred and the secular spheres the Papacy was weighed in the balance and found wanting. Thanks to the Humanist movement, intelligence was beginning to filter through all classes of society. True to its watchword that ignorance is the mother of devotion, the Papacy tried to crush intellectual independence whenever it took up a critical attitude towards the supremacy of the Church. In addition, the Papacy in its egotistical blindness, and intoxicated with the fumes of sacerdotal conceit, set itself in opposition to the spirit of nationality, which in the Middle Ages was beginning to create order out of the disorders caused by the fall of the Roman Empire. Foiled in its endeavours to reign unchecked over rising nationalities, the Papacy attempted to rule through monarchs devoted to the Church. Thus it came about that the Papacy was confronted with two foes at the same time —the outraged religious feelings of the people and the outraged national feelings of their rulers. In Scotland the evils of the Papacy were felt in all their acuteness, and in order

to realise what the Papacy means when it has full sway in the sacred and secular spheres, it is well to devote some time to a study of the pre-Reformation period in this country.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRE-REFORMATION PERIOD.

In the previous chapter it was remarked that the Papacy, foiled in its attempts at universal domination, sought to gain its ends through the monarchs of the separate nations. This was usually done by means of bulls, by which those monarchs favourable to Rome were confirmed in their positions under certain stipulated conditions. Thus we find Pope John XXII., in 1329, in granting a "bull," stipulating that the officiating bishop must, in the name of the Pope and of the See of Rome, exact an oath from the king that he would do his uttermost to exterminate from his kingdom all heretics. Heresy in the form of Lollardism was being imported from England, and in pursuance of its methods Rome began to use its diabolic instrument—the stake. Masses of the people, who knew little or nothing of the new doctrine, were alienated from the Church by the scandalous lives of the

clergy. The prevailing corruption may be judged by the Statutes passed by the Provincial Council of the Clergy, held in Edinburgh in 1549, which were prefaced with a confession that the cause of the troubles and heresies which afflicted the Church were the corruption, the lewdness, and the gross ignorance of churchmen of all ranks. The clergy, therefore, were enjoined to put away their concubines under pain of deprivation of their benefices, to dismiss from their houses the children born to them in concubinage, not to promote such children to benefices, nor to enrich them—the daughters with dowries, the sons with baronies from the patrimony of the Church. Prelates were admonished not to keep in their households manifest drunkards, gamblers, whoremongers, brawlers, night-walkers, buffoons, blasphemers, and profane swearers. The clergy in general were exhorted to mend their lives and their manners.

Perhaps the most terrible description of the state of the pre-Reformation Church is to be found in a letter to David Beaton, when he became Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of Scotland, by his kinsman Archibald Hay. Hay, who evidently hoped that the new Archbishop would lend his influence to the work of reform, wrote as follows: "I de-

clare as I desire God's love that I am ashamed to review the lives of the common and even of certain other priests obscured all round with the darkness of ignorance, so that I often wonder what the bishops were thinking about when they admitted such men to the handling of the Lord's holy body when they hardly know the order of the alphabet. Priests come to that heavenly table who have not slept off yesterday's debauch. . . . If I proceeded to review the inordinate desire of glory, the incredible cruelty, passion, envy, hate, treachery, the insatiable longing for vengeance, the wicked words and disgraceful actions, all which rage in the breasts of churchmen, no one would believe that monsters so savage lurked under a human countenance. I will not treat of the riotous living of those who, professing chastity, have invented new kinds of lusts, which I prefer to be left unknown rather than be told by me who have undertaken the part, not of an accuser, but of one that points out the disease." He goes on to say that while these charges cannot be made against all the clergy, yet they apply to very many.

In his book "The Reformation in Scotland," Dr Hay Fleming has given a lurid picture of the frightful corruption of the old Church. For his statements he gives chapter and verse.

The evils of celibacy—the fountain-head of clerical depravity — have been summed up as follows by Dr David Patrick for the Scottish History Society. "By far the most lamentable and irrepressible infirmity of the Scottish clergy was the first of the two shortcomings so candidly admitted in the prologue to the Statutes of 1549—the corruption of morals and profane lewdness of life in churchmen of all ranks. . . . The presence and persistence of the mischief may be estimated by the long series of Statutes directed against it all through the centuries, down to the Synods held just before the old Church system disappeared before the Reformation; the various forms the unlawful relations to women took, and the expedients by which the Church sought—in vain—to repress the vice, punishing with spiritual and temporal penalties not only the priests but their unhappy paramours and children. . . . Worst of all in the eyes of the historical student, anxious not to judge the Church of the thirteenth century by the standard of the twentieth century or even of the first, is the distinct implication that bishops and priests, rectors and vicars, were not free from the guilt of abusing the most solemn sacraments of the Church, the church fabric and the churchyard, by indecently and sacrilegiously dishonouring the women who came to them as

penitents for confession and absolution. Our Scottish Statutes make it painfully clear that Scottish mothers and aunts had the same strong reasons as St Catherine of Siena had for urgently imploring the girls and women of their kith and kin to fly from their confessors the moment confession was ended."

The Statutes of 1549 to which reference has already been made referred not only to the immorality, but the crass ignorance of the clergy, many of them being barely able to read. Archibald Hay testified that the Mass was celebrated by priests who hardly knew the order of the alphabet. Equally scandalous was the conferring of benefices on men who were utterly unfit for the office, and on boys who held nominally important and lucrative posts. Referring to this John Major says: "By open flattery do the worthless sons of our nobility get the governance of convents *in commendam* —the wealth of these foundations is set before them like a mark before a poor bowman—and they covet these ample revenues, not for the good help that they thence might render to their brethren, but solely for the high position that these places offer, that they may have the direction of them, and out of them may have the chance to fill their own pockets. Like bats, by chink and cranny when the daylight

dies, they will enter the holy places to suck the oil from out the lamps, and under a wicked head all the members lead an evil life."

The immorality of the Romish clergy was only equalled by their rapacity. It was calculated that on the eve of the Reformation "the ecclesiastical property was nearly equal to one half of the Kingdom." Not content with the great wealth derived from Church lands, the Church ground the poor to the dust with their exactions. In the words of Dr Hay Fleming, "belief in lying legends, in the power of the saints, in the virtue of relics, was worked for pecuniary ends, and worked most successfully. Purgatory occupied the foremost place among remunerative inventions. By it the clergy preyed not only on the fears of the dying, but on the affection and the remorse of the relatives of the dead." As tithes the poor had to give the tenth of their hard earnings to the Church. The tithes were extended to include all kinds of farm produce. Sir David Lyndsay, in denouncing these extortions, alleged that the clergy actually detained the corpse at the kirk-stile until they received sufficient surety that the dues would be paid.

The scandalous lives of the clergy and their intolerable rapacity produced among the laity wide-spread disaffection. Aware of this, the

leaders of the Church did their utmost to influence the morals of the clergy, but the process of corruption had gone so far that reform at best was like applying sticking-plaster to a running sore. The opponents of the Church numbered many who had no special love for the new doctrines which, under the name of Lollardism and Lutheranism, were being imported from the Continent. Their opposition took the form of satires on the lives of the priests, and, in the name of decency and morality, they made effective warfare against the Romish Church. The leader of this particular crusade was Sir David Lyndsay, whose satires played an important part in weakening the hold of the clergy upon the people. Ridicule, powerful in detaching men's minds from error, is powerless in leading them to truth. Great as was the influence of the literature of ridicule and satire which was being propagated throughout the land, the Papal authorities well knew that their greatest foe was the Bible. To prevent the people getting access to the fountain-head of truth was the constant aim of the Pope and his band of sycophants. It must have rejoiced the soul of Clement VII. when he learned that James was an out-and-out opponent of the Lutheran heresy, and when he further learned that the Scottish Parliament in

July 1525 had prohibited the importation of Lutheran books and forbade the discussion of Lutheran opinions.

What the Church wanted was that "the laity should hear the law of God and the Gospel of Christ from the mouth of the priest in the Church, rather than read them at home with wicked contention to the destruction of themselves and others." In order to make this effective, the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue was prohibited by open proclamation. A great step in the direction of progress was taken when the Scottish Parliament in 1542-43 legalised the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular. When the people were allowed to read the Bible, the seeds of the Reformation were sown in great abundance. To the study of the Bible, Scotland largely owes the democratic element which has played such a great part in Protestantism. From study of the Bible was derived the conception of a Kingdom of God upon earth, the head of which is neither Pope nor King, but Christ. From study of the lives of the great heroes of the Bible who dared to stand up for the sacred rights of conscience against despotic monarchs, the people were fortified in their struggle against the Papacy, which sought to arrogate to itself powers which belonged to God.

It is a common assertion by a certain class of writer that the Reformation simply substituted one kind of infallibility for another—the infallibility of a Book for that of a Church. Where is the difference between an infallible Pope and an infallible Book? The difference is great and far-reaching in its influence. Acceptance of an infallible Pope leads logically to abject acceptance of his decrees, however outrageous they may appear to reason. Acceptance of the Bible leads the reader to an absolute standard of faith and morals by which he tests the decrees of the Church and the lives of her leaders, thereby strengthening, instead of paralysing, private judgment. Martyrs, who in Scotland were the pioneers of the Reformation, were the outcome of private judgment exercised upon the Bible. The distinctive doctrines of the Papacy, both in their religious and civil aspects, find no countenance in the Bible, and at the bidding of conscience, not only historic heroes like Hamilton and Wishart, but numbers whose names are unrecorded, suffered persecution and the stake. Two things hastened the downfall of the Romish Church. On the one hand, the ruthless cruelty of the leaders in the martyrdom of Wishart and Walter Myll, an old man over eighty years of age, roused to fury the anger of the people. On the other

hand, from the Bible there was being evolved a coherent set of doctrines which were opposed to the teaching of the Papacy—doctrines which became the foundation of Protestantism in Scotland.

The martyr Wishart left behind him a number of faithful disciples. One of them, John Knox, was destined to avenge the murder of his revered leader by laying the axe at the foot of the Upas-tree of papal superstition and corruption. About a year after the death of Beaton in St Andrews, which had been the scene of Hamilton's and Wishart's martyrdom, Knox was called to the ministry. In his first sermon he declared the Reformation doctrines with amazing boldness. In the words of Dr Hay Fleming: "That Knox was already an out-and-out Protestant is apparent not only from the summary he has preserved of his first sermon, but also from the articles which were drawn from his discourses, and which formed the subject of discussion between him on the one hand and John Wynram and Friar Arbuckle on the other. These articles," continues Dr Fleming, "strike at the roots of the Papistry."

1. No mortal man can ever be the head of the Church.
2. The Pope is an anti-Christ, and so no member of Christ's mystical body.

3. Man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God, but is bound to observe and keep the religion received from God without chopping or changing thereof.
4. The Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus and preached by His Apostles: nothing ought to be added into them: nothing ought to be diminished from them.
5. The Mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper.
6. There is no purgatory in which the souls of men can be either pined, or purged after this life: but heaven remains for the faithful and hell for the reprobate and unthankful.
7. Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead idolatry.
8. Those are not bishops who do not preach personally without substitutes.
9. By the law of God teinds do not necessarily pertain to the clergy.

Thus in 1547 Knox was in possession of a comprehensive body of doctrine firmly rooted in the Bible, and with which he was later to overthrow the corrupt mass of Popery. Events

were rapidly moving towards a crisis, the issues of which were to make the Reformation in Scotland the most thorough of all the national revolts against Rome. The hour had come and the man.

CHAPTER III.

KNOX: THE CREATOR OF MODERN SCOTLAND.

When John Knox returned to Scotland on 2nd May 1559 the public mind was in violent antagonism to Rome. The Reformed doctrines had taken root. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Protestant Church. It is customary in certain quarters to dispose of Knox with a sneer as a narrow-minded fanatic; but a survey of his life-work shows him to be not only a religious reformer but a far-seeing statesman. To him is largely due the fact that in Scotland the Reformation was something more than a change of religion; it was also the creation of a nation. The reason was that Knox confronted Rome with a theory of Protestantism which met her claims at all points. Germany failed just here, inasmuch as Lutheranism retained much of the doctrines and tendencies of Rome, and for the same reason England's Reformation was a case of arrested

development. The keystone of the Papacy was its claim to absolute power in the sacred and secular spheres. Man the individual had duties, not rights. To the Pope, as the head of the Church, implicit obedience was due; and to the Pope, as universal ruler, allegiance was due by monarchs and peoples. Acquaintance with the Bible roused the Scottish mind to revolt against the sacerdotal theory. The individual claimed the right to approach God apart from the intervention of Popes and priests. The Papacy was as great an enemy of national independence as of spiritual independence, and it was plain to Knox that the Reformation in the sphere of religion would be shorn of half its value so long as the Papal claim to rule Scotland was admitted. I have treated this aspect of the question in my book, 'Intellectual Development of Scotland,' as follows: "The question which confronted the Reformation was this: If the people as such have the right to worship God apart from priestly mediation and Romanist practices generally, what should be their attitude to Romanism, which claimed the right to put down liberty of conscience by despotic exercise of civil and ecclesiastical power? The answer of Knox was decisive: the attitude of a Protestant people to the claim of Rome must be one of resist-

ance. In these days we have come to think of religion as a thing solely between man and his Maker. This is entirely a modern idea. At the time of the Reformation, and till long after, religion was a matter of State concern as well as an individual affair. Loyalty to God meant disloyalty to the existing State, and in the struggle which ensued it followed that the success of the new religion was impossible except by making the State Protestant instead of Romanist. This is the key to the policy of Knox. His remark that he feared the celebration of Mass by Mary at Holyrood more than ten thousand armed men, has been cited by drawing-room critics of the kid-gloved type as a specimen of the Reformer's ferocious intolerance. What Knox saw, and saw clearly, was that the public recognition of the Romanist practice was calculated to increase the influence of the Romanist Church to the detriment of Protestantism." The effect of the Reformation, in the opinion of Mr Bryce in his 'Holy Roman Empire,' was to erect the standard of civil as well as religious liberty against despotism of every kind. In Scotland this result conspicuously followed. In the course of the evolution of the Protestant religion there was also evolved the Protestant State.

When the Reformation began Scotland as

a nation was not more than a geographical expression. It was simply a preserve of the Roman Catholic Church, and though it had national aspirations, the country was torn between two contending parties. England and France were constantly striving to draw her into the net of their designs. The first result of the work of Knox was to substitute the religious for the dynastic factor as the controlling element in the national life. With this aspect of the Reformation I have dealt fully in my book, 'Scotland's Battle for Spiritual Independence,' from which I take a few extracts: "When Queen Mary came upon the scene, the nobles were still bent upon their old dynastic method of preserving the Scottish balance of power. They were intent, from patriotic motives, in playing England and France against each other. Hence we find the nobles at one time favouring Protestant England and at another favouring Catholic France. Hence it happened that when Mary claimed the right of succession to the English throne she had the support of many of the Scottish nobles who had previously favoured England. The motives of the nobles being patriotic rather than religious, they were naturally disposed to deal as tenderly as possible with Mary's religious susceptibilities when she

arrived in Scotland. Manifestly, if Mary's claims to the English throne were to receive support, it would be very unwise to do anything that would irritate the Catholics of England and of the Continent. Mary began the game very astutely. She asked permission to have Mass performed at Holyrood,—on the surface a very modest request. Some of the nobles who had cast in their lot with Protestantism were disposed to grant the Queen's request, among them being Moray. Knox would have nothing to do with what in his view was a wicked concession to Romish idolatry. Allow Mass, and the foundation was laid for a coalition between France and Scotland against England in favour of the succession of Mary to the throne of Elizabeth. . . . Knox had opposed the Papacy when it declared its right to rule Scotland, and he was just as ready to oppose Scottish patriotism when it involved the toleration of the Queen's Roman Catholicism."

To Protestantism Scotland owes her life-blood as a nation. In his successful efforts to secure for the people religious liberty, Knox laid the foundation of civil and political liberty. In his famous interview with Queen Mary, he laid down principles which struck at the roots of the political absolutism of the Papacy. In

opposition to the Romanist theory of abject submission to papal rule, Knox contended that rulers, supreme as well as subordinate, were invested with authority for the public good; that obedience was not due to them in anything contrary to the divine law, natural or revealed; and that in every free and well-constituted Government the law of the land was superior to the will of the Prince; no class of men had an original interest and indispensable right to rule over a people independent of their will and consent.

Events were soon to translate Knox's political creed into action. When the Reformer went up and down the country to rouse popular feeling against Rome, he was at the same time calling into existence a power before which kings and autocrats were one day to bow. In the words of Froude: "The Protestantism of Scotland was the creation of the Commons, as in turn the Commons may be said to have been created by Protestantism. There were many young, high-spirited men, belonging to the noblest families in the country, who were amongst the earliest to rally round the reforming preachers; but authority, both in Church and State, set the other way. The congregations who gathered in the fields around Wishart

and John Knox were, for the most part, farmers, labourers, artisans, tradesmen, or the smaller gentry, and thus, for the first time in Scotland, there was created an organisation of men—detached from the Lords and from the Church,—brave, noble, resolute, daring people, bound together by a sacred cause, unrecognised by the leaders whom they had followed hitherto with undoubted allegiance. That spirit which grew in time to be the ruling power of Scotland—that which formed eventually its laws and its creed and determined its after fortunes as a nation,—had its first germ in these half-formed wandering congregations. In this it was that the Reformation in Scotland differed from the Reformation in any other part of Europe. Elsewhere it found a middle class existing, created already by trade or by other causes. It roused and elevated them, but it did not materially affect their political condition. In Scotland the Commons, as an organised body, were simply created by religion. They might love their country; they might be proud of anything which would add lustre to its crown; but if it was to bring back the Pope and Popery, they would have nothing to do with it, nor would they allow it to be done. Allegiance was well enough, but there was a higher allegiance suddenly discovered

which superseded all earthly considerations." To put the matter in a nutshell. Till the Reformation Scotland had been ruled by two papal principles—the absolute despotism of the Pope, and the absolute obedience of the people, resulting in spiritual and political slavery. Knox confronted and overthrew papal domination in Scotland by two anti-papal principles—submission of the individual conscience to God's will as revealed in the Bible, and submission to Governments only in so far as they were in conformity with that will, resulting in the creation of Scotland as a Protestant nation. In the Reformation were contained the germs of her future greatness.

The results of the statesman-like handling of the Reformation were not confined to Scotland. Knox was also helping to determine the future of Great Britain. In the words of Dr Hume Brown: "Had Mary on her return to Scotland found her people united in their allegiance to Rome and their predilection for France, the course of British history must have been different from what it actually became. With three-fourths of her subjects Catholic, Elizabeth could not have held her own against a sovereign of Mary's position backed by the dominant opinion of Europe."

In the liberation of the human mind the

Reformation played an epoch-making part. Its influence, as has been shown, was many-sided and far-reaching. On the intellectual side the work of liberation was greatly helped by the Humanist movement in which George Buchanan played a distinguished part. The views relating to the relation of the citizen to the State which Knox so bravely championed in the dust and din of conflict were elaborated in due theoretic form in Buchanan's celebrated work 'De Jure.' Both Knox and Buchanan were largely indebted for their political creed to John Major, their old teacher, who, though belonging to the old faith, held very advanced views regarding the relations between kings and their subjects. In his opinion, "as it was the people who first made kings, so the people can dethrone them when they misuse their privileges." Such views could be tolerated when there was no chance of their being put into practice. George Buchanan elaborated them and gave them currency in his 'De Jure' in 1579, when Reformation principles were permeating the national mind. Buchanan declared his intention in writing the book to be "to explain the reciprocal rights and privileges of kings and their subjects." The significance of Buchanan's book lay in the fact that it put into definite shape the Protestant

theory of the relation between the people and the monarch, and struck at the root of the absolutist doctrine upon which the political system of the Papacy rested. Both Knox and Buchanan placed the will of the people above the will of the ruler. As Dr Macmillan in his admirable book on George Buchanan well says: "It was in Scotland that these principles found their first practical illustration, and to it is due the credit of striking the first blow for that liberty which heralded in the new age."

CHAPTER IV.

EPOCH-MAKING NATURE OF THE REFORMATION.

UNDER the leadership of Knox the Reformation was an assured success. Henceforth Protestantism was to be the religion of Scotland. The papal supremacy received a crushing blow. But it was not all smooth sailing. Protestantism could not feel secure till it was made a part of the Constitution. In those days, as I have already remarked, religion was something more than a matter between man and his Maker. It was not enough to dissent utterly from the theological dogmas of Rome; it was absolutely essential that in the sphere of government the claim of the Papacy to despotic sway should be shattered, and that could only be done by making the Constitution as well as the religion Protestant. How was that to be done? Romanism solved the problem by making the Church supreme; Erastianism by making the State supreme.

Knox sought the solution in the direction of making the Church and the State supreme in their respective spheres—the sacred and the secular.

The full extent of the antagonism between politico-ecclesiastical doctrines is best realised when in the wide field of history they are incarnated in picturesque personalities like Queen Mary and John Knox. The one represented Papal Absolutism, the other Protestant Constitutionalism; and in the famous interview at Holyrood we witness the dramatic clashing of doctrines in which were contained the germs of world-wide conflicts and of epoch-making significance. In the course of that interview in 1561 took place the following conversation :—

Queen Mary. "But yet ye have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow. How can that doctrine be of God, seeing that God commandeth subjects to obey their princes?"

John Knox. "As right religion took neither original strength nor authority from worldly princes, but from the Eternal God alone, we are not subjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetites of their princes. Princes are often the most ignorant of all others in God's true religion, as we may read

in the histories as well before the death of Christ Jesus as after. If all the seed of Abraham had been of the religion of Pharaoh, what religion should there have been in the world? Or if all men in the days of the Apostles should have been of the religion of the Roman emperors, what religion should there have been upon the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar and unto Darius, and yet, madam, they would not be of their religion; for the three children said: 'We make it known unto thee, O King, that we will not worship thy gods.' Daniel did pray publicly unto his God against the expressed command of the king. And so, madam, ye may perceive that subjects are not bound to the religion of their princes, although they are commanded to give them obedience."

Queen Mary. "Yea, but none of these men raised the sword against their princes."

John Knox. "Yet, madam, ye can not deny that they resisted, for those who obey not the commandments that are given in some sort resist."

Queen Mary. "But yet they resisted not by the sword."

John Knox. "God, madam, had not given them the power and the means."

Queen Mary. "Think ye that subjects having the power may resist their princes?"

John Knox. "If the princes exceed their bounds, madam, no doubt they may be resisted and with power. For there is neither greater honour nor greater obedience to be given to kings and princes than God hath commanded to be given unto father and mother. But the father may be stricken with a frenzy in which he would slay his children. If the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison till his frenzy be overpast — think ye, madam, that the children do any wrong? It is even so, madam, with princes that would murder the children of God that are subjects unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy, and to take the sword from them to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience because it agreeth with the will of God."

At these words the queen stood, as it were, amazed for more than a quarter of an hour. Her countenance altered so that Lord James began to entreat her and to demand, "What hath offended you, madam?"

At length she said to John Knox: "Well,

then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you and not me. They shall do what they list and not what I command; and so must I be subject to them and not they to me?"

John Knox. "Think not, madam, that wrong is done you when ye are willed to be subject unto God. It is He that subjects people under princes and causes obedience to be given unto them. Yea, God craves of kings that they be foster-fathers to His Church, and commands queens to be nurses to His people."

Queen Mary. "Yea, but ye are not the Kirk that I will nourish. I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for it is, I think, the true Kirk of God."

The history of the Reformation in Scotland is the record of the conflict of the opposing doctrines which form the subject of this historic interview, and of the speedy triumph of the Protestant Constitutionalism of John Knox over the Papal Absolutism of Queen Mary.

In the history of Scotland the opening of the First Assembly in 1560 in the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene, Edinburgh, was indeed and in truth an epoch-making event. Knox was not long in translating into action the principles he defended in his interview with Queen Mary. Along with a few of his friends, Knox drew

up the Book of Discipline setting forth the Presbyterian form of Covenant, and the Confession of Faith setting forth the creed of the Church. In these documents it was made clear that the Head of the Church was not the Pope but Christ. The two documents were adopted by the Assembly; but in addition, Knox thought it well to obtain for the new Constitution the consent of the Crown. Mary refused the royal assent. From her standpoint, as the representative of the Papacy, refusal was natural. The giving of the royal assent would be tantamount to acknowledging that the papal supremacy in Scotland was at an end. Mary's refusal did not disturb Knox. The request, he remarked, has been made "rather to show our dutiful obedience than to obtain any strength to our religion, which from God hath full powers and needed not the suffrage of men."

Between Mary and the Reformers collision took place in December 1561, when the General Assembly was held. Maitland of Lethington raised an objection to the meeting of the Assembly, on the ground that the queen had not given her consent. Knox brushed aside the objection in his usual unceremonious fashion. He told Maitland that if the meeting of the Assembly depended on

the queen's consent they would soon lack not only the Assembly but also the preaching of the Gospel. "Take from us," he said, "the freedom of the Assemblies and you take from us the Evangel." The Assembly proceeded with its business. In 1562 and 1564 the Assembly met without asking or troubling itself about the queen's consent. Foiled in her attempt upon the General Assembly, Mary next tried to narrow the spiritual independence of the Reformed Church in another direction —the pulpit. In 1563, Knox, in a sermon, with his usual outspokenness, denounced Mary's marriage with a Roman Catholic. Mary was furious, and in an interview with Knox exclaimed: "What have you to do with my marriage, or what are you in this Commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same, madam," he replied, "and God hath made me, however abject I seem to be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same." Mary was determined to have Knox prosecuted, but her efforts in this direction failed. He claimed the right—after the manner of Elijah in the days of Ahab—of bringing to the bar of the enlightened conscience those in high places. Knox declared that in the pulpit he "must obey Him Who commandeth me to speak plainly."

Knox and his successors have been fiercely

denounced by literary Laodiceans for turning the pulpit into an engine of clerical despotism, thereby for years putting Scotland into ecclesiastical bondage. The clergy had no severer critic than Buckle, but he was driven to admit that to them is largely due the liberation of the Scottish mind from the paralysing doctrine of passive obedience, and the planting of those germs of individuality and criticism which are the salt of a healthy and progressive civilisation. In the words of Buckle: "The clergy by their sermons, both public and private, by the proceedings of their Assemblies, by their bold and frequent attacks upon persons without regard to their rank, nay, even by the very insolence with which they treated their superiors, stirred up the minds of men, formed them to habits of discussion, and excited that inquisitive and democratic spirit which is the only effective guarantee the people can ever possess against the tyranny of those who are set over them. This was the work of the Scottish clergy, and all hail to them who did it. . . . Herein they did a deed which should compensate for all their offences, even were these offences ten times as great." The pulpit and the General Assembly were the real moulders of public opinion at a time when the divine right theory, still a dreaded reality,

was worked in the interests of papal despotism. At a time when affairs of religion were also affairs of politics, it would have fared ill with Scotland had not Knox and his successors made Protestantism the means of securing to the nation its civil as well as its religious liberties.

The conflict between Protestantism and Romanism, in so far as it meant a struggle against papal domination in the sphere of the State, came to an end when, in July 1567, Mary abdicated in favour of her infant son. At the meeting of Parliament the Acts of 1560, to which Mary had refused the royal assent, were ratified, and Protestantism was formally established as the religion of Scotland. The Coronation oath was so framed as to bind the Sovereign to the Protestant religion.

It was not only a new creed that Protestantism brought to Scotland at the Reformation, but also a new spirit,—a spirit of independence which, manifesting itself first in religion, soon permeated the entire life of the people. The change was noted by an English emissary who had been sent by Lord Burleigh to watch the progress of events. He wrote: "You would be astonished to see how men are changed here. There is little of that submission to those above them that there used to be. The poor think and act for themselves. They are

growing strong, confident, independent; the farms are better cultivated; the farmers are growing rich; the merchants at Leith are thriving, and, notwithstanding the pirates, are increasing their ships and opening a brisk trade with France."

Strictly speaking, Scotland underwent something more radical than reformation—namely, regeneration. The nation was born again—born with new ideals, new energies, new faith, new hope. That the stride which Scotland took under Protestantism was no isolated event due to local circumstances is clear from the fact that, wherever Protestantism was established, it has proved the motive power of a vigorous civilisation. In the words of Macaulay: "It cannot be doubted that since the sixteenth century the Protestant nations have made decidedly greater progress than their neighbours. . . . Compare Edinburgh with Florence. Edinburgh has owed less to climate, to soil, and to the fostering care of rulers than any capital, Protestant or Catholic. In all these respects Florence has been singularly happy. Yet whoever knew what Florence and Edinburgh were in the generation preceding the Reformation and what they are now (1840), will acknowledge that some great cause has, during the last three centuries, operated to

raise one part of the European family and to depress the other. Compare the history of England with that of Spain during the last century. In arms, arts, science, letters, commerce, the contrast is most striking. The distinction is not confined to this side of the Atlantic. The colonies planted by England have immeasurably outgrown in power those planted by Spain. Yet we have no reason to believe that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Castilian was in any respect inferior to the Englishman. Our firm belief is that the North owes its great civilisation and prosperity chiefly to the moral effect of the Reformation, and that the decay of the Southern countries of Europe is to be mainly ascribed to the great Catholic revival."

In certain quarters Knox is condemned for attempting to revive in Scotland the old theocratic idea of the Hebrew Commonwealth. What Knox attempted to do was to introduce, on a democratic basis, the theocratic ideal. Knox, who drew his inspiration from the Bible,—not like the Humanists, from Hellenic sources,—traced power to a source higher than the people. He agreed with Hooker that "the seat of law is the bosom of Almighty God." Knox would have agreed with an American writer who says: "The fundamental

principle of the Hebraic Commonwealth was that there are great moral laws by which human society is bound together. These laws men neither make nor unmake, mend nor modify. They are not dependent upon the will of monarch, oligarchy, aristocracy, or public assembly,—they are eternal, absolute, immutable." Start with the Hebraic theory of Knox, and you reach the conception that governments are only truly democratic when they rest on the theocratic idea, — in a word, when the laws of legislators are transcripts of the laws of God. Knox triumphed over the Papacy because he refused to believe—and in this he had the people entirely with him—that the source of law was the arbitrary dicta of a self-constituted, self-styled, infallible Church. With Knox, in a word, Protestantism was not only a principle of individual, but of social and political, regeneration, by means of which the Headship of Christ—not Papal Supremacy—meant the supremacy of Christianity in all departments of the national life. Meanwhile, in the time of Knox, the Reformation was at the germ stage, and years of conflict were to pass ere Scotland was to enjoy the fruits of the great Reformer's epoch-making work.

CHAPTER V.

ERASTIAN DESPOTISM AND POPISH PLOTS.

With the abdication of Mary, the crowning of her infant son, and the establishment of the Reformed Church, the immediate outlook for Protestantism was bright in the extreme. There were, however, dark clouds on the horizon. Fortunately the Earl of Moray was Regent, and in his hands the cause of the Reformers was safe. His assassination at Linlithgow enveloped the future in gloom. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the tragic event, the queen's party raised the standard of civil war. Many of the nobles, though professedly Protestant, detested Knox's scheme of utilising the revenues of the old Church in the cause of religion. With Moray out of the way, the nobles got the upper hand, under the leadership of the Earl of Morton, who had an eye on the rich benefices, many of which were still filled by Roman Catholics,

who had a life-interest in them. The revenues should have reverted to the Reformed Church, but Morton and his friends set themselves to prevent this by a scheme as ingenious as it was audacious. Certain ministers were to be presented with livings, and in return they were to make over the principal part of the revenues to those noblemen who had received the patronage of them from the Crown. These ministers who were admitted to bishoprics were called "Tulchan bishops," in allusion to a custom in the Highlands of placing a calf's skin stuffed with straw, called a Tulchan, before cows to induce them to give milk. The result of this contemptible system of patronage would clearly be to prevent the people from appointing their own ministers,—a clear violation of a fundamental principle of the Reformed Church.

Under such a dastardly attempt to encroach upon the spiritual independence of the Church, Knox could not remain silent. Unable to attend the General Assembly held at Stirling in 1571, he addressed a letter of warning: "I exhort you, yea in the fear of God I charge and command you, that ye take heed to yourselves and the flock over the which God hath placed you pastors. Unfaithful and traitor to the flock shall ye be before the Lord Jesus if

with your consent directly or indirectly ye suffer unworthy men to be thrust into the ministry of the Kirk under what pretence it be. Remember the judge before whom we must make account, and resist that tyranny as ye would avoid hell-fire." Morton had the insolence to ask Knox to instal bishops into his charge. Knox, in refusing, thundered forth against Morton and his creatures. Knox was nearing his end, and unable to take an active part in the controversy. Morton was able to manipulate a Convention, held at Leith in 1572, so as to get resolutions passed to the effect that the titles of Bishops and Archbishops might be allowed to remain till the king came of age, on the understanding that they had no real Episcopal standing in the Church and were under the control of the General Assembly. Here indeed was the cloven hoof of Erastianism. If the power of appointing ministers was to be taken from the people and given to the Crown, the Church would find itself face to face with a new despotism. Protestantism had fought and vanquished the mythical divine right of Popes; it had now to do battle with the equally mythical divine right of Kings.

At this crisis appeared Andrew Melville, wearing the mantle of John Knox. With

the wisdom of the serpent, Morton proceeded to tempt Melville. He offered him the Archbishopric of St Andrews. The offer was spurned. Morton tried threats. "There will be no quietness," he said to Melville, "till half a dozen of you are hanged or banished the country." "Tushe," retorted Melville, "threaten your courtiers in that fashion!" Melville promptly reversed the policy of the Leith Convention. Out of this controversy grew the Second Book of Discipline, which may be described as the Magna Charta of Presbyterianism. In opposition to the Erastianism of the Crown party with its theory of the royal supremacy, the Second Book of Discipline lays it down "that power ecclesiastical flows from God and the Mediator, Christ Jesus, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth, but only Christ, the only Spiritual King and Governor of His Church." Further, Episcopacy was declared to be unscriptural, and against the hierarchical devices; the natural equality of the clergy was insisted upon.

Melville was called upon to fight the Royal Supremacy as Knox had to do battle against the Papal Supremacy. King James was not long in throwing down the glove. In his book, published under the title of 'The True

Law of Free Monarchy,' he boldly claimed for the monarch despotic power, and for the subjects passive obedience. His first attempt to translate the theory into practice was in the ecclesiastical sphere under the motto, "No Bishop no King." An opportunity for testing the Erastianism of James soon came. In June 1581 Archbishop Boyd died, and Lennox, a relative of the king who had secured a grant of the living, nominated a weakling named Montgomery. The General Assembly, in harmony with its declaration in the Second Book of Discipline, prohibited Montgomery from accepting the charge, and in the end excommunicated him. The king and council declared the sentence null and void. At a meeting of Assembly Melville denounced this new form of Popery. For a sermon, preached about the time of the Ruthven Raid, Melville was put upon his trial. He was condemned to imprisonment at Blackness, but on the advice of his friends he fled to England.

Having got rid of his great antagonist, James proceeded to drastic measures. No Church Court could meet without the king's permission; Presbyteries were abolished, and in their dioceses Bishops were to have full authority. It was further declared to be treason to speak against Bishops or even the

Estates of Parliament. These were called the Black Acts. Events abroad, however, were working on the side of the Reform party. The news of the Armada compelled James to seek an alliance with his Protestant subjects. While before he was all haughtiness, now he was all obsequiousness. He went the length of praising God that he belonged to such a Kirk—the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Kirk saw its opportunity, and while the King was in a melting mood the General Assembly got Parliament to pass the memorable Act of 1592, annulling the Black Acts of 1584 and ratifying some of the leading propositions of the Second Book of Discipline. The spiritual rights of the Church, which his despotic pretensions would not allow him to admit, his sense of fear compelled him to recognise. The outcome of the Armada scare was that the Church in Scotland breathed freely. So great was the change that Calderwood, the historian of the time, in optimistic mood, declared that "the Kirk of Scotland was now come to her perfection."

The peace which the Church enjoyed proved to be the lull before another storm. In December 1592, a Romanist conspiracy to overthrow the Government was detected, in which several Scottish earls were implicated. The

leaders of the Church naturally expected the aid of the king in bringing the conspirators to justice. As usual, James proved himself a shuffler. He pretended indignation at the conspiracy, but his indignation was really against the clergy for making such an ado about the affair. James had his eye upon the throne of England, as Elizabeth's career was nearing its end, and he was desirous of being on good terms with the Roman Catholics in that country. The clergy were determined to bring the royal shuffler to book. A deputation waited upon him at Falkland. James endeavoured to browbeat, whereupon Andrew Melville, stepping forward and seizing the King by the sleeve, addressed him as "God's silly vassal." "Sir," said Melville, "I must tell you there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is King James the head of the Commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the Head of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king nor a lord, not a head but a member. We will yield to you your place and give you all due obedience, but again I say you are not head of the Church. Sir, when you were in your swaddling clothes Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land, in spite of all His enemies." Freed from ex-

ternal danger, James reverted to his old despotic policy, and revived some of the clauses of the Black Acts.

On the death of Elizabeth in 1603, James ascended the throne of England, where, freed from the presence of his "tormentors," he was able to give full scope to his Erastianism. Backed by the power of England, he set about the congenial task of forcing Episcopacy upon Scotland. He made war upon the rights of the Church, and by discreditable methods, deceit, bribery, and persecution, he thrust upon the people a system of Church government utterly repugnant to the genius of the nation. He ruled the Assembly through his bishops, who devised all kinds of innovations, and banished ministers who refused to bow the knee to the Erastian Baal.

It would be a mistake to imagine that because Protestantism was engaged in deadly conflict with Erastianism, the old enemy, Romanism, had retired hopelessly beaten from the battlefield. Rome never admits defeat. It changes its tactics, not its pretensions. The Protestant party, aware of this, were on guard against Popish plots to undo the work of the Reformation. In Queen Mary's time, France was the quarter from which the Re-

formers scented danger. During the reign of James, Spain was the enemy. The danger of foreign intervention on behalf of the old religion was intensified by the unsatisfactory attitude of James to Protestantism. His great ambition was to succeed Elizabeth on the throne of England, and he was willing to use either Romanism or Protestantism in order to accomplish his object. In Scotland the Reformation had not yet taken deep root. Till near the close of the 16th century one-third of the Scottish nobles were Roman Catholics, as were the majority of the people in the counties of Inverness, Sutherland, Aberdeen, Moray, in Nithsdale and Wigtown. In England the prospects of Protestantism were by no means bright, and it seemed clear to James that if a reaction began there in favour of the old religion his plan was to keep on good terms with the Roman Catholics. To gain the throne of England, James was prepared to stoop to any meanness. As a Popish spy who had been in Scotland put it, James would have taken the English crown from the devil himself.

Immediately after James came to the throne circumstances seemed highly favourable to the Romanist cause. Philip II., the champion of Romanism, never lost sight of the idea of strik-

ing a blow for the old religion, and the most effective way to do this was by making a crushing attack upon England. This could best be done through Scotland, and it was the dread of the might of Spain being used against Protestantism in Scotland that kept the Reformed party in a constant state of anxiety. Rome found in Lennox, a relative of James, a powerful instrument in the policy of restoring Romanism in Scotland. The next move was to employ the Jesuits in the work—subterranean diplomacy—a work in which for centuries they have earned an infamous reputation. Protestantism at this juncture was face to face with two formidable evils—Erastian intrigues and Popish plots. James had two strings to his bow. If Romanism prevailed in England, his friendly relations with the Pope and Philip would serve him in good stead in his ambition for the English throne. On the other hand, if Protestantism prevailed, he could still come to terms with the Reformed leaders, while at the same time gradually giving the Kirk the stamp of Erastianism.

Meanwhile the Jesuits were busy. One of them, Father Holt, who had been sent to Scotland, had an interview with the Spanish Ambassador, who reports, February 9, 1582, to the King of Spain the result of a conversa-

tion with Holt in London after his return from Scotland. Holt told the Spanish Ambassador that on his arrival in Edinburgh he was received "by the principal lords and councillors of the king, particularly the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Huntly, Eglinton, Argyll, Caithness, and other personages who are desirous of bringing the country to submit to our Holy Catholic Faith." Their plan of campaign was very comprehensive. They were to endeavour to get the king to become a Roman Catholic. If this failed, and if his mother thought it necessary to carry the matter through, they wonld transport him out of the kingdom to a place that she might indicate, and as a last resort they would depose the king until she arrived. The next thing was to get foreign help to the extent of 2000 troops. For this they had appealed to Mary Queen of Scots to prevail upon the Pope and the King of Spain to help them. With the aid of these troops, the Scottish noblemen mentioned would undertake to convert the country to the Romish faith, and to bring it to submit to the Pope.

Mary gave her hearty approval to the plot. Further, she was willing, if her son became a Roman Catholic, to give up her claim to be the only sovereign of Scotland, and to share

the throne with James. Mary wrote to the Spanish Ambassador expressing the opinion that the Duke of Lennox, "though he has joined with the heretics in order by dissimulation to strengthen his position, would not be blind to the advantage of helping the king." Lennox, it should be noted, on his arrival in Edinburgh had declared himself a Protestant, though the clergy suspected what the State Papers have revealed, that he was at heart a Roman Catholic.

The Pope proceeded with caution. He sent an emissary of his own, a Scottish Jesuit, Father Creighton, to make full inquiries. Creighton on his arrival in Scotland got into communication with Lennox, the guardian of King James, who was still a minor. The Jesuit was smuggled into the King's palace at night, and was in hiding for three days in a secret chamber. He came away with a promise from Lennox that he would have the king instructed in the Catholic religion, or else conveyed abroad in order to embrace it with more freedom.

While the preparations for landing troops in Scotland were being made, the Papal plot was suddenly checkmated by a bold move on the part of certain Protestant noblemen, who came to the king at Perth and invited him

to Ruthven Castle, where they detained him against his will. This is known as the Raid of Ruthven, and was so far successful that it separated James from the influence of Lennox, who left Scotland on December 20, 1582. Lennox left, filled with the idea that James could only be brought to the Roman Catholic religion by holding out to him as a bait the help of foreign troops, which would be of the greatest aid to him in his attempts to secure the succession to Queen Elizabeth. It was his intention to return to Scotland with foreign troops, and to Queen Mary he wrote saying that they would be quartered in Dumbarton Castle, he having made an arrangement to that effect with the captain in charge of the castle. Lennox's schemes were frustrated by death, which overtook him soon after his arrival in France. With the death of Lennox the plot he had hatched was brought to an abrupt end, but another and more infamous plot was hatched by the Jesuits, namely, the assassination of Queen Elizabeth. The plot failed, and another was soon projected to crush Protestantism in Scotland and England by force of arms. The Jesuit conspirators met at Paris, and after considering advices from the discontented lords, and also a letter from Queen Mary "that things are well pre-

pared, especially towards the border of Scotland, where the expedition from Spain would land," resolved that it would suffice if the King of Spain sent a force of 4000 soldiers.

Meanwhile James escaped from his captors at Ruthven Castle, and in his distress he wrote to the Duke of Guise imploring help against the rebels, who were daily growing in strength. He asks the Duke to use his influence with the princes who are his friends and with the Holy Father to send speedy help. When he gets out of his difficulties with such help, James declares that he would be "more free to follow your advice in all things both in religion and State affairs, as I wish to do in all things reasonable." In the same strain James wrote to the Pope, whom he asked to keep his communication secret, as, if it became known, he would be in a serious position, assailed "by my rebels and the Queen of England." And this man, willing to sell his country to Rome for his own personal ends, solemnly declared his allegiance to the Kirk of Scotland!

The policy of James took a sudden turn when it dawned upon him that he was not likely to get help from Spain in his efforts to get the Crown of England. Philip had aspirations in that direction himself. Elizabeth, with her usual astuteness, with the promise of a

yearly pension, got James to enter into a Protestant alliance, and thus when the Spanish Armada was being prepared the king was found on the side of Protestantism. It was a critical hour for the religion and liberties of both England and Scotland. Spain was confident of victory, as may be seen from an address to the Captain and men of the Armada found in the National Library of Madrid by Major Martin Hume, editor of the 'Calendar of Spanish State Papers.' The address runs as follows:—

"Onward, gentlemen, onward! Onward with joy and gladness, honourable, necessary, profitable, and not difficult under a king! Glorious to God, to His Church, to His saints, and to our country. Glorious to God, who for the punishment of England has allowed Himself to be banished from the land, and the holy sacrifice of the Mass to be abolished. Glorious to His Church, now oppressed and down-trodden by the English heretics. Glorious to the saints, who have been there persecuted and maltreated, insulted and burnt. Glorious for our country, because God has deigned to make it His instrument for such great ends. . . . Profitable also because of the plunder and endless riches we shall gather in England, and with which, by the favour of

God, we shall return gloriously and victoriously to our homes. We are going on an undertaking which offers no great difficulty, because God, in whose sacred cause we go, will lead us; with such a Captain we need not fear. The Saints of Heaven will go in our company, and particularly the holy patrons of Spain; and those of England itself, who are persecuted by the heretics, and cry aloud to God for vengeance, will come out to meet us and aid us. . . . With us go faith, justice, and truth, the benediction of the Pope, who holds the place of God on earth, the sympathies of all good people, the prayers of all the Catholic Church; we have them all on our side. God is stronger than the devil, truth stronger than error, the Catholic faith stronger than heresy, the saints and angels of Heaven stronger than all the powers of hell, the indomitable spirit and sturdy arm of the Spaniard stronger than the drooping hearts and the base and frozen bodies of the English."

The failure of the Spanish Armada cooled the zeal of James for Rome. He began to play the Protestant game, but warily, so as not to close his line of retreat in case Romanism should again be in the ascendant. His effusive admiration of the Kirk did not remove the suspicions which had gathered round James—suspicions abundantly confirmed by the seizure

of correspondence on the person of George Ker, brother of Lord Newbattle, and also of blank papers signed by the Earls of Huntly, Angus, Errol, and Sir Patrick Gordon. The main purport of the correspondence was a request to Philip that a Spanish army should be sent to Scotland, with which the Romanists would act. The reformed clergy were indignant, and demanded that the persons implicated should be brought to trial. They were not brought to trial—a fact that increased the suspicion that James knew of the plot. The recent publication of a remarkable document proves that the suspicion was correct, as it shows that as early as the summer of 1592 James was privy to the scheme of a Spanish invasion of England through Scotland. James still kept before his eyes the English throne. In Scotland he had conciliated the Roman Catholics, and by sheer arbitrary measures had stamped Erastianism on the Kirk. In England James bribed the Protestant leaders and lavishly showered promises upon them, thereby securing their support. At the same time he was communicating with the Pope and leaving the impression that he was a true son of the Church. When he did get to the throne of Elizabeth he clearly saw that his interest lay in supporting Protestantism, and his policy in this regard was intensified by the

Gunpowder Plot, which enabled him to increase his popularity. Still James never became at heart a Protestant. His thirst for absolute power kept him from being enamoured of the Papal Supremacy. He found in Erastianism a congenial creed, and like Henry VIII. he desired to be an absolute despot both in Church and State. Throughout the conflict Scotland fought bravely on the side of liberty. In contending against the Erastianism of James and denouncing his Romanist malpractices, Scotland proved true to the liberty-loving tradition of the early Reformers. Through all the troublous time great was Scotland's debt to Protestantism. In the midst of his career of high-handed despotism King James died, leaving to his successors a heritage of woe.

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT WE OWE TO THE COVENANTERS.

At the death of James the fortunes of Protestantism were at a low ebb. When Knox died the Papacy in Scotland was crushed, but on its ruins there sprang up Episcopacy, which, in the hands of James, developed into a new despotism—Erastianism. The situation was rendered all the more alarming from the fact that as King of England James was able to bring to bear against the Protestant movement all the weight of Episcopacy, by means of which he was able to break with the parliamentary traditions of Scotland and rule the nation with an iron hand. In the words of Professor Hume Brown: "The outstanding fact of James's reign was the transformation which he wrought in the Scottish Constitution. He found a monarchy strictly limited, and he left it all but a pure despotism." James pressed his policy of Absolutism craftily. He endeavoured as far

as possible to avoid open conflict with the Church, relying mainly upon indirect and subterraneous tactics. He saw the necessity of walking warily. He advised Laud to be careful in his coercive methods, telling him that he knew not "the stomach" of the Scottish people. Charles, who succeeded his father, was as ignorant of the Scottish people as Laud. He at once began to show his despotic power. James had chastised the Scots with whips; Charles seemed bent on chastising them with scorpions. He made a bad start. The policy of James was to bring about uniformity of religion in the two kingdoms, by making Scotland Episcopalian, with as little friction as possible. Charles at the outset created an amount of friction which greatly weakened his despotic crusade. In order to enrich the bishops and to provide himself with revenue, Charles took from the nobles lands which they had seized at the Reformation. He thus found himself confronted with two sets of foes in Scotland, the clergy and the nobles.

Charles, bent upon a policy of "thorough," introduced by arbitrary power in 1637 a Book of Canons, not only overthrowing Presbyterianism, but also depriving the people of their civil liberties. In the first chapter the doctrine of

the royal supremacy is laid down and enforced under the penalty of excommunication upon all who dare to disobey. It is declared that "none shall be permitted to teach in any college or school, either as principal, regent, or fellow, except he first take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. And having taken the charge upon them, they shall acquaint their scholars and train them up according to their capacity in the grounds contained in the book entitled 'Deus et Rex,'—God and the King." The whole internal arrangements of the Church were given over to the bishops, who were invested with the right of expounding the Bible, all private meetings of ministers for this purpose being prohibited. Moreover, no one was permitted to impugn the opinion of another minister in the same or in the neighbouring church without the permission of the bishop. This gross violation of liberty, one of the fundamentals of Protestantism, aroused public indignation. The king, it was said, had no right to impose such things without the consent of Parliament and the General Assembly.

Fuel was added to the fire when Laud's Liturgy was introduced. It was declared to be popish, in short, simply a Mass-book. In Edinburgh popular indignation found dramatic expression in St Giles' Cathedral when Jenny

Geddes flung her three-legged stool at the officiating dean. Baillie, in his 'Letters and Journals,' gives a graphic description of the turmoil in Glasgow, when a Mr Annand, the minister of Ayr, ventured to defend the liturgy in a sermon before the Synod: "At the outgoing of the church about thirty or forty of our honest women in one voice before the bishops and the magistrates did fall rayling, cursing, scolding with clamours on Mr Annand. All the day up and down the streets where he went he got threats in words and looks; but after supper, while needlessly he will go to visit the bishop, he is no sooner on the street at nine o'clock in a dark night, accompanied with three or four ministers, than some hundreds of enraged women of all ranks are upon him with fists, staves, and peats, but no stones. However, upon his cries, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all severe wounds; yet he was in great danger even of his life."

There was nothing spasmodic about the agitation, which was not to spend itself in declamatory outbursts. In the hands of the defenders of the Church it developed into an organised movement. Into Edinburgh, from all parts of the country, people flocked to protest against the outrage to the religious senti-

ment of the nation. Each class, nobles, gentry, clergy, and burgesses, consulted separately, meeting from time to time for joint conference. This body was called "The Tables." With absolute unanimity the protesters resolved to defend the religious and civil liberties of Scotland.

In his excellent book, 'The Fifty Years' Struggle,' James Dodds gives a graphic description of the scene in Greyfriars' Churchyard, when on the last day of February 1638 there assembled to sign the National Covenant, noblemen, barons, gentlemen, ministers, and burgesses: "How the dullest chronicler kindles into reverential glow as he relates how the Commissioners who had charge of the momentous task assembled in the early dawn of that February morning. How the myriads from Tweed to Tay, from Merse to Galloway, flocked to the Greyfriars, filling church and churchyard. How one great historic face after another appeared on the scene. With what heavenly ardour Henderson prayed to the High and Lofty One with whom a whole nation essayed to enter into Covenant,—he was famed as the most eloquent man of his time. How earnestly and devotedly the people listened as Warriston read the Covenant. How, after the reading of the document

there was a solemn pause, as if men were bowed down by a feeling of the immediate presence of divinity. How this dread expressive stillness was broken when the Earl of Sutherland, advancing, deeply affected, affixed the first signature to the National Covenant. Then how a tempest of long pent-up enthusiasm ran through the assembled multitude. Name followed name as with electric speed. Some wept aloud, some raised a shout of exultation as from the field of battle and victory, some after their signatures added the words 'till death,' some opened their veins and subscribed their names with their blood."

The outcome of that national movement was a demand made by the Covenanters for the withdrawal, not only of the Book of Canons and liturgy, but also for the abolition of the High Commission, the emblem of despotic power. The Covenanters further asked that a lawful and free General Assembly and a Parliament should be summoned as in former times to redress the grievances of the people. Charles was in defiant mood. "I will rather die," he declared, "than yield to their impertinent and damnable demands; for it is all one to yield to be no king in a very short time." Further, and in equally emphatic language, he said: "I will only say that so long as this

Covenant is in force, whether it be with or without explanation, I have no more power in Scotland than as a Duke of Venice, which I will rather die than suffer: yet I command the giving ear to their explanations, or any thing, to gain time." It was clear that nothing was to be gained by negotiations.

The Covenanters held a General Assembly at Glasgow—the first free Assembly for forty years — and annulled all the Acts of the Assemblies since 1605; in short, swept away the Episcopal principles and practices which James and Charles had introduced into Scotland. Under its new leader, Alexander Henderson, Protestantism declared, as Knox did in 1560 and Melville in 1585, that in matters spiritual Christ alone was King.

Great issues hung upon the contest between the Covenanters and Charles. Not only the religious and civil liberties of Scotland were involved, but the Protestant cause all over was in danger. It was plain that Laud, the incarnation of political absolutism, was working steadily in the interests of Romanism, which in the seventeenth century was making herculean efforts to recover the ground it lost in the sixteenth century. In reference to this, Ranke the historian, referring to the relations between Protestantism and Romanism, says: "In the

year 1617, everything betokened a decisive conflict between them. The Catholic party appears to have felt itself the superior. At all events it was the first to take up arms." "Rome," continues Ranke, "was determined to rest satisfied with nothing less than the restoration of all Church property and the return of all Protestants to Catholicism." Here we have the explanation of the Covenanters' interference in English affairs, an interference which to a thinker of parochial vision seemed to savour of fanaticism. The Covenanters came to the aid of their brethren in England, because the triumph of Rome in England would be a serious menace to Protestantism in Scotland. The outcome of this feeling was the Solemn League and Covenant, which was followed by entanglements that greatly confused the course of events, and as ultimate result divided the forces of the Covenant, and brought about humiliation under Cromwell.

The execution of Charles on 30th January 1649 entirely changed the current of events. This act of Cromwell was bitterly resented by the Covenanters, with whom the feeling of loyalty was still strong, notwithstanding all that they had suffered at the hands of the Stuarts. They invited the Prince to Scotland, and he was crowned at Scone, January 1, 1651, as

Charles II. Experience had made the people suspicious, and to provide against a recurrence of the old evil an Act was passed declaring that Charles "should consent and agree that all civil matters should be determined by the Parliament of the Kingdom, and all ecclesiastical matters by the General Assembly of the Kirk." In the coronation sermon Robert Douglas told the King that "there must be no tyranny on the throne." "It is good for our king," he continued, "to learn to be wise in time, and know that he receiveth this day a power to govern, but a power limited by contract, and these conditions he is bound to stand by." These sentiments were not new in Scotland, as was seen in dealing with the political views of Knox and Buchanan. In Samuel Rutherford's 'Lex Rex,' published 1644, the same strictly constitutional idea is expounded. "The power of creating a king," says Rutherford, "is from the people. Power is not an immediate inheritance from heaven, but a birthright of the people borrowed from them. A limited and mixed monarchy such as in Scotland and England seems to me to be the best, when Parliaments with the king have the good of all three." John Locke is claimed as the father of political philosophy, but the essence of his philosophy is to be found in the

writings of the poor despised Covenanters who anticipated the political principles of the Revolution Settlement.

Little did the worthy Protestant leaders know that they were dealing with a double-dyed hypocrite. While Charles was swearing to the Solemn League and Covenant, and thus repudiating Popery and Prelacy, he was at the same time in negotiation with Rome and Madrid for help against "these rebels (Cromwellians) against God, the Church, and Monarchy." He tells the Pope of "his good and true natural inclinations to the Catholic faith." The duplicity of Charles is well shown in the statement of a Roman Catholic priest who acted as confessor to Charles's mother: "The bad state of his affairs obliged him (Charles) to smother his just resentment and to use towards those dissembling people (the Scotch) a very ingenious and necessary dissimulation. He complied, therefore, with their humour, relinquished that majestic haughtiness which accompanies Royalty, exhibiting to them nothing but an agreeable, insinuating familiarity which won them and induced them to take up his defence, his cause, and his establishment. To begin with, they made him a great number of proposals, demanding several things, which he granted with a good grace."

The Jesuits at this crisis found themselves in a congenial element. They set themselves to get Charles on to the throne by Roman Catholic aid, and of course a part of the plot was to get Charles to become a Roman Catholic. He was duly received into the Church, but for obvious reasons the fact was kept secret. Charles was bent upon bringing England and Scotland back to the Papal fold. He was encouraged in his idea by the presence in his Court of a number of men who, like himself, were secretly Roman Catholics. "The condition of things in Charles's Court," writes Masson in his 'Life of Milton,' "from August 1662 onwards, had been peculiarly favourable for the resuscitation in his mind of exchanging his crypto-catholicism for an open profession of the Roman Catholic faith. His new Queen had her chapel, her priests, and confessors; his mother, Queen Henrietta Maria, who had come over again from France to make the acquaintance of the new Queen and to try how long she could stay in England, had also brought Roman Catholic priests and servants in her train; the number of avowed Roman Catholics at Court and the conveniences for Roman Catholic worship had been largely increased."

Naturally, in this frame of mind Charles was in no mood to conciliate further his Scottish

subjects. He quite realised that the principles of the Covenanters were diametrically opposed to the absolutism which he inherited from his father and grandfather. The Committee of Estates lost no time in showing their opinion of them by ordering that all copies of Rutherford's 'Lex Rex' be burned at the Mercat Cross, Edinburgh, and in the market place of St Andrews. In the political sphere the antagonistic ideas of the king and the Covenanters soon began to clash. The struggle was twofold. On the religious side the Covenanters represented Protestantism, which politically meant Constitutionalism; on the religious side Charles represented Prelacy, which politically meant Absolutism. The Cameronians carried their principles to their logical conclusion. They refused allegiance to a monarch to whose creed they were utterly opposed. They disowned Charles Stuart, who had been reigning or rather tyrannising, "as having any right, title, or interest in the Crown of Scotland." Every schoolboy knows the history of the years from 1680 to 1688, well termed "the killing time." For refusing to submit to the dastardly despotism of Charles, the Covenanters were treated with the greatest barbarity. "Murder," as has been well said, "stalked red-shod in every valley

and by every homestead in the west and south of Scotland." Let us listen to Buckle, an impartial historian, as he describes the horrors of those terrible times: "The people, deserted by every one except their clergy, were ruthlessly plundered and murdered, and hunted like wild beasts from place to place. . . . In 1678, by the express consent of the Government, the Highlanders were brought down from their mountains, and during three months were encouraged to slay, plunder, and burn at their pleasure the inhabitants of the most populous and industrious parts of Scotland. . . . They deprived the people of their property; they even stripped them of their clothes and sent them out naked to die in the fields."

The point to be noted here is that the principles for which the Covenanters fought and died were the principles of Knox, Melville, and Henderson, — the principles of the Reformation. Reformers and Covenanters alike saw clearly that the Episcopacy and the Papacy were at bottom identical,—they both in their ultimate analysis meant spiritual and civil despotism. When Charles II. died and his brother James VII. ascended the throne, the truth of this was dramatically established. The Erastianism of Charles easily and naturally developed into the Popery of James. The

Covenanters would have none of him, and for denying the king's authority, Renwick, the last of the martyrs, perished on the scaffold in February 1688. When charged with denying the King's authority, Renwick replied: "I own all authority which has its prescription and limitation from the Word of God, but cannot own this usurper as lawful king, seeing both by the Word of God such a one is incapable to bear rule, and also by the ancient laws of the kingdom, which admit none to the Crown of Scotland until he swear to defend the Protestant religion, and which a man of his profession cannot do." In November of the same year William of Orange arrived. England and Scotland accepted and acted upon Renwick's estimate of James. As I have elsewhere said: "Renwick's death was nobly avenged. Within a few short months the principles for which he was martyred were adopted in the Revolution Settlement. The Covenanters at the foot of the scaffold gained a glorious victory. Their memories, written in letters of blood, are enshrined for ever in the hearts of all freedom-loving Scotsmen. Richard Cameron, the Lion of the Covenant; Renwick, Cargill, and the rest of the noble band are not dead,—they live with the Immortals."

CHAPTER VII.

PROTESTANTISM VICTORIOUS: THE REVOLUTION.

The events which led to the Revolution of 1688 were of an epoch-making nature. With the flight of James and the appearance of William of Orange upon the scene, came to a victorious conclusion the long struggle of Protestantism against its historic foe. Protestantism, as has been shown, had a dual conflict. On the one hand it had to curb the Absolutism of the monarch in civil affairs, and on the other the Erastian theory in matters ecclesiastical. In the case of James VI. the danger from Romanism was not specially pronounced. He had no desire to hand over his authority to the Pope; he arrogated to himself an authority papal in spirit and methods. The dividing line between Episcopacy and Romanism is somewhat thin, and when, on the death of Charles II., James VII. ascended the throne, the dividing line had become invisible. Charles

II. was supposed to lean towards the Church of Rome, but his religion stopped far short of fanaticism, and he had no desire to lose his throne to please the Papacy. His great ambition was to rule despotically, and well he knew that open and avowed friendship with Rome would arouse an opposition that would shatter to its foundations his policy of Absolutism. He did make legislative efforts in favour of the Papacy, but he drew back when the storm in the country began to rise.

With the accession of James VII. began the decisive conflict between Protestantism and Romanism. Devotedly attached to the Absolute doctrine of his predecessors, James was also fanatically determined to use the divine right theory for the purpose of converting England from Protestantism to the ancient faith. Had he been content with absolute power, the battle of Constitutionalism might have been terrible for England, because of the devoted support he was sure to get from the clergy of the Church of England. Their attitude was one of grovelling servility. In the words of Macaulay: "The Church of England continued to be for more than 150 years the servile handmaid of monarchy, the steady enemy of public liberty. The divine right of kings, the duty of passively obeying

all their commands, were her favourite tenets. She held those tenets firmly through times of oppression, persecution, and licentiousness, while law was trampled down, while judgment was perverted, while the people were as though they were beasts."

In James's temperament bigotry and fanaticism were so pronounced as to blind him to the course which self-interest dictated. Charles II. was a Roman Catholic, but not publicly. James publicly announced his conversion to Romanism, while his secretary was indiscreet to write of a "mighty work in hand, —no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and thereby the utter subduing of a pestilential heresy which had long domineered over the Northern world." In his stupid way, James did the very things calculated to alienate his subjects. Before he ascended the throne he was in the habit of hearing Mass in private. When he became king he had the doors of his room opened, so that the ceremony might be seen by those who came to pay their duty to him. He ventured on a still bolder course. Roman Catholics lay under serious disabilities. They were excluded from office, civil and military. By an exercise of the prerogative of dispensation the laws were set aside, and James began to fill the services with Roman Catholics.

Even the servile clergy took alarm. James had gone too far. He tried to combine two things which were antagonistic. He desired to put himself above the Constitution, and in this he had the good wishes of the Church of England, but he came to grief when he began to play into the hands of Romanism. The moment James threatened the supremacy of the clergy of the Church of England, that moment he brought a hornet's nest about his ears.

One attempt at a diplomatic move James made. He desired to relieve his Roman Catholic subjects of the restrictions placed upon them. Out of this desire grew the famous Declaration of Indulgence, which on the face of it seemed a politic stroke, as it gave relief to Nonconformists as well as Roman Catholics. The people were not to be hoodwinked. They saw that the Declaration of Indulgence was a move in the game of converting England from Protestantism to Popery, and numbers of the clergy refused to read the Declaration from their pulpits. The Nonconformists did not rise to the bait. They preferred to be prescribed rather than to have Rome tolerated. They had good reason to dread the papistical policy of James. In England the Roman Catholics were weak;

but James was an ally of the bigot who sat on the French throne, and people's memories were fresh with the Smithfield horrors, the Armada, the Gunpowder Plot. In the midst of the general revolt against the policy of James came the awful horrors of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The fact that the times were out of joint should have made James pause in his campaign of fanaticism. Urged on by his Jesuit advisers, he proceeded on the path which led to his ruin. Seven bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, drew up a petition in the form of a remonstrance to the king, and out of the proceedings so initiated grew a resolve made by several leading statesmen to invite William of Orange to England.

Meanwhile Scotland was playing her part in the great drama. The official connection of James with Scotland began when, as Duke of York, he appeared as Royal Commissioner in 1681. He was not long in showing the bent of his mind. In the same month of his arrival he got Parliament to pass two Acts which contained the concentrated essence of the Divine Right theory. By the first—the Act of Succession—it was declared that, "No difference in religion . . . can alter or divert the right of succession and lineal descent

of the Crown," — quite a bold stroke for a Roman Catholic who was heir-presumptive to the throne. The second Act aimed at allowing Roman Catholics to hold office in Church or State. By applying to Scotland the Absolutist policy which had created widespread revolt in England, James brought the country to the verge of revolution. To this period belongs the campaign of butchery known as "the killing time," to which reference has been made in a previous chapter.

On February 10, 1685, James was proclaimed King of Scots at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh. His subjects had no reason to love him, and he certainly did nothing to foster loyalty by his omission to take the Coronation Oath, which bound the Scottish King to defend the Protestant religion. From the start he made it plain that he was bent upon exterminating dissent, and ruling in Church and State with a rod of iron. In carrying out his merciless policy, James found a willing instrument—Graham of Claverhouse, —whom certain writers have set themselves to whitewash. When the Prince of Darkness is whitewashed, it may then be possible to cleanse the reputation of "Bloody Clavers." Despite the efforts of kid-gloved apologists, nothing will eradicate from the Scottish mind

the belief that Graham of Claverhouse united in his personality the superficiality of the courtier and the brutality of the savage. In the eyes of all freedom-loving Scots, Claverhouse will ever appear the incarnation of infamy.

The last act of the drama which was to end so disastrously for James was now to open. Royal letters came to Scotland authorising Papists to hold office without taking the test, and the clergy were charged in their discourses not to cast reflections upon the Roman Catholic religion. Events soon began to develop in the Romanist direction. Addressed to Lord Perth, the Chancellor, there arrived at Leith a cargo of images, beads, and crosses. They were allowed to pass, though the importation of such articles was illegal. By and by it became known that a Popish chapel had been fitted up in the Chancellor's house, where Mass was regularly said. The mansion was attacked by a mob, and Lady Perth and some of her female friends were pelted with mud. One rioter was seized and ordered to be whipped. His comrades rescued him and beat the hangman. The city was in a state of confusion. The troops were called. They were stoned. Orders were given to fire, and several citizens were killed. One of the ring-leaders and several accomplices were hanged.

They were regarded as martyrs,—a circumstance which intensified the popular hatred to the papistical policy of James.

On April 29, 1686, Parliament assembled at Edinburgh. A letter from the king was read, in which he exhorted the Estates to give relief to his Roman Catholic subjects, and in return he offered free trade with England and an amnesty for political offences. A Committee appointed to draw up a reply made it plain that they had no intention of obeying the king's demand. Objection was taken by some zealous Protestants to the mention made of the Roman Catholic religion. According to them there was no such religion. There was an idolatrous apostacy which the laws punished with the halter. To call such a superstition Catholic, it was contended, was to give up the whole question at issue between Rome and the Protestant Churches. The offer of free trade was treated as an insult. "Our fathers," said one orator, "sold their king for southern gold, and we still live under the reproach of that bargain. Let it not be said of us that we have sold our God!"

The answer was highly displeasing to James. He evidently had not calculated on such obstinacy. The Lords of the Articles—virtually his own creatures—refused to draw up the Acts

on which the Estates were to deliberate. One of them, Hamilton, bluntly declared that he could not do what was asked: there was a limit imposed by his conscience. "Conscience," said the Chancellor, "is a vague word which signifies anything or nothing." "Then," said Lockhart, who represented Lanark in Parliament, "if conscience be a word without meaning, we will change it for another phrase which I hope means something. For 'conscience' let us put 'the fundamental laws of Scotland.'" After three weeks' debate, the Lords of the Articles made a concession to the effect that Roman Catholics should be permitted to worship God in private houses without incurring any penalty. The Estates, however, either would not pass the measure at all, or with great restrictions and modifications. If the Scottish Parliament would not obey him, he would override the Parliament, and carry the matter through by means of the royal prerogative. In crowds Papists were admitted to offices and honours. In a letter to the Privy Council, James intimated his intention to fit up a Roman Catholic Chapel at Holyrood, and gave directions that the judges should treat all the laws against Papists as null and void. By stern despotism James gained his point so far, but only for a time. The day of retribution was drawing nigh.

As in England, James endeavoured to break the force of his policy by toleration to Roman Catholics by using letters of Indulgence, which favoured Nonconformists as well. This proved a concession fatal to the Romanist cause in Scotland. The Indulgence, in the words of Professor Hume Brown, "brought home the majority of the exiled Presbyterian ministers, and it enabled them to put their Church on a footing which gave it a commanding influence in the coming Revolution." The Cameronians did not recognise James as their lawful king, and with them no terms could be made. So detested was James that Episcopalians joined with Presbyterians in anxiety for release from the papal tyranny. Release came in the person of William of Orange. With the flight of James ended the fond hope of the Jesuits, that England and Scotland would be brought back to the Romanist fold.

In Scotland there was great joy over the fall of James. Crowds gathered in the streets of Edinburgh demanding a free Parliament. A mob attacked the chapel in Holyrood, removed the images and whatever else was removable, and made a bonfire of them. The houses of Roman Catholics were entered, images, crosses, &c., removed and burned. The Privy Council, seeing how the wind was blow-

ing, speedily deserted the cause of James, and issued a proclamation calling upon all Protestants to put themselves in a position to secure their religion, their lives, their liberties, and their property. Episcopacy, which had always been unpopular, suffered as well as Romanism in the tumult. The curates were subjected to rough usage. Many of the manses were entered, the furniture thrown out at the windows, and the inmates turned out of doors. More than two hundred Episcopal clergy were turned adrift. These violent proceedings were not approved of by the more moderate of the Covenanters, and meetings of ministers and elders were held with the view of preventing such excesses. Considering the terrible sufferings of the Covenanters in the twenty-eight years of persecution, the wonder is not that excesses were committed, but that the violence was not on a larger and more serious scale.

A Convention of the Estates was called for, March 14, 1689, to consider the situation and arrange for the future government of the country. A letter was read from William expressing his desire that they would settle the religion and liberties of the nation upon just grounds, in harmony with the inclination of the people and the public good. A letter from James was also read, offering a pardon

to those who returned to their allegiance; to them who refused, no mercy would be shown. The crisis was not yet over. The Duke of Gordon, who held the Castle, refused to surrender, and while the Estates were sitting news came that Viscount Dundee was on the Stirling road, and had been seen conferring with Gordon. Hamilton, the President, rose amid the general excitement and cried: "It is high time that we should look to ourselves. The enemies of our religion and of our civil freedom are mustering all around us, and we may well suspect that they have accomplices even here. Lock the doors. Lay the keys on the table. Let no one go out but those lords and gentlemen whom we shall appoint to call the citizens to arms. There are some good men from the West in Edinburgh, for whom I can answer." The drums were ordered to beat. The Covenanters promptly responded to the call in such numbers as overawed the Jacobites. The Covenanters protected the Convention till the arrival of the Scottish regiments under General Mackay.

The Convention, after due consideration, passed the following resolution: "That James the Seventh, a professed Papist, assumed the royal power and acted as king without ever taking the oath required by law, and

hath by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and altered it from a limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power, and exercised the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion and the violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, whereby he forfeited his right to the crown, and his throne has become vacant." The new sovereigns were proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh. The parish ministers were ordered to intimate from their pulpits the contents of the proclamation, and were enjoined to pray for William and Mary.

The Revolution has been well described as a European event of the first order. "It redressed the balance of power in Europe. Under the Stuarts England had become the subsidised and subservient ally of the French king's rapacious ambition, and of the Popery cognate to despotism, of which he, more than the Pope himself, was the head. The Revolution of 1688 transferred England to the side of William of Orange and of the liberties of Europe."

CHAPTER VIII.

ROME AS PERSECUTOR.

As already remarked, at the Reformation Scotland entered upon a new career. Relieved of the incubus of Popery, the national mind began to develop those qualities and characteristics that have given to Scotland the high place she holds in the modern world. Protestantism has proved the salvation of Scotland. But besides being indebted to Protestantism for incalculable positive benefits, Scotland owes to the Reformation escape from the unspeakable horrors of Romanism. On the eve of the Reformation the papal authorities endeavoured by their policy of persecution to put down the revolutionary movement. Their atrocities were leniency itself compared to the fiendish methods which Rome adopted in those countries where the Protestant cause was too weak to offer effective resistance. As illustration, take the massacre of St Bartholomew, in which, in the name of religion, devilry reigned supreme,

and where high dignitaries, from the Pope downwards, gloried in converting districts of France into shambles. In 1572, on a Sabbath morning, the great bell of the Palais de Justice pealed forth the signal for the general massacre of Protestants. In the words of Professor Baird, author of 'Rise of the Huguenots,' quoted by Dr Hay Fleming: 'The frenzy that had fallen upon Paris affected all classes alike. Every feeling of pity seemed to have been blotted out. Natural affection disappeared. A man's foes were those of his own household. On the plea of religious zeal, the most barbarous acts were committed. . . . The weaker sex was not spared in the universal carnage, and, as in a town taken by assault, suffered outrages that were worse than death. Matron and maiden alike welcomed as merciful the blow that liberated them from an existence now rendered insupportable. Nor was any rank respected. . . . The very innocence of childhood furnished no sufficient protection—so literally did the pious Catholics of Paris interpret the oft-repeated exhortations of their holy father to exterminate not only the roots of heresy, but the very fibres of the roots. . . . The carnival of blood, which had been so successfully ushered in on that ill-starred Sunday of August, was maintained on the suc-

ceeding days with little abatement of its frenzied excitement. Paris soon resembled a vast charnel-house. The dead or dying lay in the open streets and squares, they blocked the doors and carriage-ways, they were heaped in the courtyards. When the utmost that impotent passion could do to these lifeless remains was accomplished, the Seine became the receptacle. Besides those Huguenots whom their murderers dragged to the bridges or wharves to despatch by drowning, both by day and by night, waggons laden with the corpses of men and women, and even of young children, were driven down to the river and emptied of their human freight."

The massacres of Paris were followed by massacres at Lyons, Orleans, Rouen, and other large towns. The rivers are described as turned into blood. The number of slain was estimated by a Roman Catholic bishop of Paris at 100,000. This may be an exaggeration, but in any case the carnage was appalling. How did the Papal authorities comport themselves towards this epidemic of diabolism? At Rome the news of the massacre was received with joy and thanksgiving, and praise was given to God by the Pope and the cardinals for the blessing vouch-

safed to the Holy See and Christendom. It was declared to be for the glory of God and the good of France that the Huguenots should be utterly exterminated. The Pope further showed his hearty appreciation of the fiendish deed by commemorating it by a medal. Upon Europe the massacres made a terrible impression. Lord Burleigh described it as "the most horrid crime which had been committed since the crucifixion of Christ."

Another chapter, written in letters of blood in the papal book of infamy, is that which records the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. That shameful crime not only destroyed Protestantism in France but struck a crushing blow at her industrial position. Writing on this subject Voltaire says: "Nearly fifty thousand families within the space of three years left the kingdom, and were afterwards followed by others, who introduced their arts, manufactures, and riches among strangers. . . . A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk, others carried thither the art of making crystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, a prodigious quantity of specie, and, above all, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves."

At all costs the Papacy was determined to stamp out heresy. Out of this determination persecution logically came. The Inquisition, in which the Papacy excelled itself as an infamous inventor of torturing machines, was appointed by Innocent III. under the name of the "Holy Inquisition," for the express purpose of exterminating heretics. In Wylie's valuable book on the Papacy, the author gives a graphic account of a visit which he made to the "Hall of Torture" in Rome, in which stood the dismantled Inquisition. After describing the mechanical details of the torturing machine he says: "When all was ready the executioner suddenly hoisted the prisoner up to the ceiling by means of the rope which passed through the pulley in the top of the beam; the arms were painfully wrenched backwards, and the weight of the body was increased by the weight attached to the feet, in most cases sufficient to tear the arms from the sockets. While thus suspended, the prisoner was sometimes whipped, or had a hot iron thrust into various parts of his body. If he refused to confess, he was suddenly let down again and received a jerk which completed the dislocation. If he still refused to confess, he was remanded to his cell, had his joints set, and was brought out as soon as able

to undergo the same torture over again. The torture, which was excruciating, was to last eleven hours. . . . In a small adjoining apartment we were shown a recess in the wall with a trap-door below it. In that recess, said the guide, stood an image of the Virgin. The prisoner accused of heresy was brought and made to kneel on the trap-door, and in presence of the Virgin to abjure his heresy. To prevent the possibility of apostacy, the moment he had made his confession, the bolt was drawn and the man lay a mangled corpse on the rocks below."

The Holy Inquisition began its operations in France, and soon extended to Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, spreading terror wherever it went. Innocent IV., evidently determined not to be outdone in infamy by his predecessor, issued a bull, "De Extorpanda," in 1252, by which it was ordained that accused persons should be tortured not only to confess their own heresy, but also to compel them to accuse others.

In his 'Rationalism in Europe,' Lecky, an impartial writer, has historic justification for his statement that "the Church of Rome had shed more innocent blood than any other institution that has ever existed among mankind." An authority who had free access to the archives

of the Spanish Inquisition states that by that tribunal alone 31,000 persons were burnt, and more than 290,000 condemned to punishments less severe than death. In the Netherlands alone, in the reign of Charles V., perished 50,000, and 25,000 under his son. When to this is added the large number who perished of whom no record has been kept, some idea may be had of the hideous atrocities perpetrated by the Papacy in the name of religion. As if this cruelty was not enough, the leaders of the Inquisition imported into the death ceremony elements positively fiendish. "The Spanish heretic was led to the stake in a dress covered with representations of devils, and of frightful tortures, to remind the spectators to the very last of the doom that awaited him." The Church of Rome, while jealous for things spiritual, had always a sharp eye on things temporal. While excommunicating the heretic it also confiscated his property, on the ground that the crime of the heretic was so great that something of his impurity fell upon those related to him. One Roman Catholic writer justified this on the plea that the Almighty (whom he called the First Inquisitor) deprived Adam and Eve and their descendants of the Garden of Eden.

But it will be said all this is ancient history.

The Papacy, like all things human, comes under the spell of the spirit of the age — a spirit which condemns to-day the mistaken zeal which in the past justified the policy of persecution. If to-day Rome does not persecute, it is not because she has not the will but because she has not the power. Over her the spirit of the age casts no spell. She disdains to be ruled by humanitarian motives, and acts as if inspired by the spirit of diabolism. Well has the Papacy been named antichrist, for certainly its religion is in utter antagonism to the teachings of the Founder of the Christian religion. That persecution is a fundamental principle of the Roman Catholic Church, and not a huge blunder, not to say crime, which the Church is now at liberty to condemn, is evident from the prominent position it holds in the papal creed. Persecution still remains part of the authorised creed of Rome, expressly formulated by infallible decrees of Popes and Councils. Pope Urban, in 1088, decreed that "those are not to be accounted murderers or homicides who, when burning with love or zeal for their Catholic Mother against excommunicated persons, shall happen to kill a few of them." His successors published bulls for the suppression and extermination of heretics. In this they were followed by Pius IX., who, in his

Allocution of September 1851, declared that every other worship than the Roman Catholic worship must be banished and interdicted. In his Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864, he denounced liberty of conscience and freedom of speech, and anathematised those who denied that the Church had a right to employ force. Leo XIII. was animated by the same spirit. He granted to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo in Spain a brief forbidding any Spaniard, under pain of excommunication, to give either food or shelter to any Protestant missionaries; and he addressed an autograph letter to King Alfonso begging him to use every effort of the civil power to banish Protestant missionaries and to confiscate their churches, schools, &c., even in violation of the Spanish constitution. Moreover, he excommunicated all who had anything to do with the building of Protestant places of worship in Rome. To sum up, in the words of a competent writer who has studied the Papacy in all its aspects: "Rome claims the right (1) to enforce her decrees and dogmas and worship on all baptised persons without any consent on their part in whatever country they may be found; (2) to excommunicate from the church on earth and in heaven, and pronounce the most bitter curses upon all who refuse in any way to submit to them;

(3) to visit such with the most severe penalties, such as the loss of their property, spiritual and social boycotting, the dungeon, the rack, the stake, and the scaffold." In short, had Rome the power as she has the will, the Inquisition would soon be in full swing in Scotland and in all Protestant countries. Not only Scotland but modern civilisation is indebted to Protestantism for checking Rome in her persecuting career.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PAPACY IN MODERN TIMES: THE VATICAN DECREES.

In order to clearness of thought in dealing with this subject, it is well to note the distinction between Roman Catholicism and Papacy. The former has to do mainly with religion. It rests upon theological doctrines which Protestants believe to be erroneous. There are Roman Catholics who take their religion but not their politics from the Pope. Had the Roman Catholic Church remained purely a religious organisation like any other sect, the world would have been spared centuries of evil. But in the course of its development the Romish Church through its Popes entered the civil sphere and aspired to universal monarchy. The struggle, which in this country began with the Reformation and ended with the Revolution of 1688, was between two opposing principles—Papal abso-

lutism on the one hand and champions of freedom of conscience on the other.

With the flight of James VII. the power of the Papacy in the sphere of government received in this country a blow from which it never recovered. The remembrance of Rome's persistent efforts to grasp the sceptre of the civil power haunted the people of this country for generations, and explains their reluctance to grant concessions to Roman Catholic subjects. Over a century ago a movement arose to remove from them certain disabilities, and out of this sprang the Catholic Emancipation Bill. It was taken for granted that Rome had learned her lesson, and was now willing to keep her activities within the sphere of religion. It was now denied that the Pope had any right, direct or indirect, to interfere in civil government. Opponents of Catholic Emancipation were sceptical on these points. In their opinion, from the nature of the papal claims, a consistent Roman Catholic could not give entire allegiance to the crown. To put the matter at rest, the opinion of Roman Catholic authorities in this country was taken. Before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1835 important evidence was given by Bishop Doyle, a prelate who, more than any other, represented his Church, and influenced greatly

the mind of the country in favour of concession. He was asked: "In what and how far does the Roman Catholic profess to obey the Pope?" He answered: "The Catholic professes to obey the Pope in matters which regard his religious faith, and in those matters of ecclesiastical discipline which have already been defined by the competent authorities." In answer to another question the bishop said: "The allegiance which we owe to the sovereign and our obedience to the law are complete and full and perfect, and individually, inasmuch as they extend to all political, legal, and civil rights of the king or of his subjects. I think the allegiance due to the king and the allegiance due to the Pope are as distinct and as divided in their nature as any two things can possibly be." Other declarations of high Roman Catholic authorities in Great Britain were to the same effect, namely, that neither the Pope nor any other prelate or ecclesiastical person of the Roman Catholic Church had any right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the civil goverment, nor to oppose in any manner the performance of the civil duties which are due to the king.

The value of these protestations were tested in 1850, when Rome made the famous departure known as the Papal Aggression.

It was then seen that the people in this country, in trusting to the representations of Roman Catholics of their loyalty and allegiance to the crown, were trusting to a broken reed. The Tractarian movement was interpreted at Rome as the first stage of the conversion of England to Rome. In their haste to take advantage of the movement, and to facilitate the return of England to the fold, Rome, through Cardinal Wiseman, issued an edict establishing in England the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In the "bull" the Pope stated that, "having besought the assistance of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and of the Saints, whose virtues have made England illustrious, he, in the plenitude of apostolic power entrusted to him by our Lord Jesus Christ through the person of St Peter, Prince of the Apostles, decreed the re-establishment in the kingdom of England, and according to the canon laws of the Church, of an hierarchy of bishops deriving their titles from their own Sees." What was the scope of this edict? Was it confined to matters purely spiritual, or did it encroach upon matters civil, and therefore upon the authority of the crown? If the distinguished Roman Catholics who gave their evidence in connection with Catholic Emancipation were to be believed, Romanists

could not be called upon by the Pope to throw aside at his bidding their allegiance to the crown. At this point the Edict entrusted to Cardinal Wiseman strikes a very different note.

The real feature of the Edict was the fact that Canon Law was being introduced into England. Does Canon Law limit the Pope's functions to the spiritual sphere? Canon Law lays it down that "the constitutions of princes are not superior to ecclesiastical constitutions, but subordinate to them." The Bishop of Rome may excommunicate emperors and princes, deprive them from their states, and absolve their subjects from their oath of obedience to them. In a text-book on the Canon Law, published in Rome in 1831, it is stated, "The Pope, as Vicar of Christ on earth and Universal Pastor of his sheep, has indirectly a certain supreme power for the good estate of the Church if it be necessary, of judging and disposing of all the temporal goods of all Christians." Canon Law, then, in civil matters overrides the law of the land, — it claims supreme jurisdiction over persons and property. In other words, the Edict of 1850 simply emphasised in dramatic fashion the fact that, so far as Roman Catholics are concerned, their allegiance is not to the Sovereign of Britain but to the Pope of Rome. So long

as the two allegiances do not clash, all goes well, but when the law of England clashes with Canon Law, the latter claims obedience in preference to the former. That this interpretation is correct was swiftly shown when the Government of the day met the Edict of the Pope by the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. The Roman Catholic organs, especially 'The Tablet,' did not mince matters. They declared that Roman Catholics would not obey the Act, on the ground that the papal law was the law of God. Listen to 'The Tablet' in its reference to the Act which was aimed at the papal aggression. "Neither in England nor in Ireland will the Roman Catholics obey the law, that is, the law of the Imperial Parliament. They have, or are likely to have before them, two things called laws, which unhappily (or happily) contradict each other. Both cannot be obeyed, and both cannot be disobeyed. One of them is the law of God, the other is no law at all. It is not a law, but a lie. . . . The law of God, that is, the Pope's command, will be, or rather has been, and is being carried into effect; the parliamentary lie will be spit upon and trampled under foot."[1] That means in plain language that, in the opinion of Roman Catholics, the supreme authority in Britain

[1] Quoted in Wylie's 'Rome and Civil Liberty,' p. 149.

is the Pope of Rome. Another organ, 'The Catholic Vindicator' of that time, puts the matter beyond dispute as follows: "Rather than that our loyalty to the holy apostolic see be in the least degree tarnished, let ten thousand kings and queens (and Queen Victoria included) perish (as such)—*i.e.*, let them be deposed from their thrones and become mere individuals."

In the same article, the Queen is told to her face that she must either be content with a "divided allegiance" or none at all. Notice the deceitfulness of Rome. When it desired Catholic Emancipation its influential agents told the British Government that there was really no such thing as "divided allegiance"; that the Pope had no authority over his flock in civil matters, and that therefore Britain had nothing to fear from Roman Catholic disloyalty.

The excitement which arose out of the papal aggression awoke the old distrust of Rome—a distrust which the Vatican Decrees greatly deepened. These Decrees, with their monstrous doctrine of papal infallibility, revive in their most aggressive and insolent form the intolerant claim of the Papacy of the Middle Ages. This claim, as put forth by the late Cardinal Manning, is expressed thus: "The

right of deposing kings is inherent in the supreme sovereignty which the Popes, as vice-regents of Christ, receive over all Christian nations. . . . The royal supremacy has perished, and the supremacy of the Vicar of Christ re-enters England full of life." Among the doctrines of the Romish Church, like the Trinity and the Incarnation, Manning includes the "Sovereignty, both temporal and spiritual, of the Holy See." Leo XIII. does not mince matters. In one of his Encyclicals he says: "Every Roman Catholic must render as perfect submission and obedience of will to the Church and the sovereign Pontiff as to God Himself." This, of course, means obedience to Canon Law, which the officers of the Pope are bound to administer. The Canon Law, among other things, declares that the Pope is the Lord of all kings and all peoples; that the Church can use force in carrying out her discipline; that her clergy are exempt from the civil tribunals of the land; that all laws contrary to Canon Law are void; that all education must be under the control of the bishops; that the Pope can depose heretical sovereigns; that he can release from oaths and prisons; that the priests have power to direct the people in their political duties, and that heresy is to be punished with death.

The net result, politically speaking, of the Vatican decrees is, that Roman Catholics in this country have a divided allegiance, and that when their duties to the Pope and the king clash, they must obey the Pope before the king. That simply means the resurrection of the old claim which was buried in 1688—the claim of the Pope to be supreme over kings and peoples. In view of the Vatican Decrees, are we not justified, in the language of Gladstone, in suspecting "that there is a fixed purpose among the secret inspirers of Roman policy to pursue by the road of force, upon the arrival of any favourable opportunity, the favourite project of re-erecting the territorial throne of the Popedom, even if it can only be re-erected on the ashes of the city, and amidst the whitening bones of the people"?

There are those who say that the Papacy will melt away before the spread of education, that in the conflict between intelligence and superstition the issue cannot be doubtful. The condition of Ireland does not seem to justify such optimism. Rome never favoured the education of the masses, and when in this country the authorities of the Church had to fall in with the national system, they so managed matters as to make education sub-

servient to their own sectarian ends. In regard to her dislike of education, writing of Rome, Macaulay says: "During the last three centuries to stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object." When she could no longer oppose compulsory education, Rome schemed to work it to her own advantage. In 1878 Leo XIII. declared that the Church must have full control of education. All mixed education, he said, is intrinsically and grievously dangerous to the faith and morals of Catholic children. The Church, it was further declared, must have, and at the public expense, a system of education Catholic in all its branches, primary, intermediate, and university. Rome did not get what she desired, but she got enough to make her baneful influence felt. She got representation on school boards, while she kept control of her own schools, obtaining Government grants, and making them independent of the boards which manage the national schools. It is in Ireland, however, where the power of the priests in thwarting the intentions of the framers of the Education Act is seen in its completeness. In the words of the author of 'Priests and People in Ireland,' "It would be difficult to overrate the power of the Roman Catholic priests' organisation in Ireland at

present. They hold in the hollow of their hand the minds of all the children attending (*a*) the national schools by virtue of their position as managers of the schools; (*b*) the convent and monastic schools; (*c*) all the Catholic intermediate schools. The priests openly regard 'free thought' or 'free mental development' as physicians look upon cholera or small-pox, as diseases to be extirpated. They therefore deliberately cripple and stunt the minds of the youth, to make freedom of thinking power impossible." And what is the outcome of this priestly control of education? Simply this, that education in Ireland, in the real sense of the term, is a sham. It is directed, not to the cultivation of the mind, but to the preparation of the mind to receive in abject submission the dogmas of the Church. The authorities evidently agree with their organ, 'The Dublin Review,' which says: "We are very far from meaning that ignorance is the Catholic youth's best preservative against intellectual danger, but it is a very powerful one nevertheless. . . . It is simply undeniable that the absence of higher education is a powerful preservative against apostacy."

To the papal rule in Ireland must largely be due the deplorable condition of that un-

happy country. As one, who though a Catholic detests the papal side of his religion, says: "It is sacerdotal interference and domination in Catholic Ireland, beginning in the infant school and ending with the legacy for Mass after death, that will be found to be the true and universal cause of that universal degeneracy upon which we so commiserate ourselves." The contrast between Scotland and Ireland is simply the contrast between Protestantism and Romanism. Protestantism to Scotland brought prosperity; to Ireland Romanism has brought degradation.

CHAPTER X.

PROTESTANTISM AS LIBERATOR OF THE SCOTTISH MIND.

IGNORANCE, as has been well said, is the mother of devotion. It is equally true that ignorance is the mother of despotism. The papal claim of absolute supremacy in things sacred and secular can only be consented to by a people at the stage of mental serfdom, to whom the very idea of intellectual independence has never occurred. Once inculcate a community with the idea that the Pope is the supreme authority upon all things divine and human, and that his deliverances are to be taken without question, mental paralysis is the inevitable result. Unless truth is within reach of the individual inquirer, unless man as man is responsible to God for the use he makes of his faculties, there is no escape from intellectual torpor. From its very nature Romanism favours intellectual torpor as the neces-

sary conditions of its despotic reign over the mind.

During the Middle Ages those who dared to think for themselves were treated as heretics. Roman Catholicism had taken all knowledge under its care. With the aid of Aristotle, the Papacy had formulated a comprehensive theory of life, and any thinker who dared to dispute that theory was ruthlessly silenced. The day of deliverance was at hand. What is known as the Renaissance was in essence an intellectual revolt. The opening of the vast treasures of ancient literature, caused by the dispersion of the Greeks when Constantinople fell in 1453, created among the reading public a distaste for the scholasticism of the Roman Church. Between the classical ideas of the Renaissance and the monkish ideas of the Romanists there could be nothing but antagonism, as may be seen in the attitude of contempt of George Buchanan, the pioneer in Scotland of the new learning, towards his old teacher, John Major. Major, who in many ways was in advance of his contemporaries, represented in his teaching the scholastic futilities of the Church. He taught, in the words of Buchanan, "the art of sophistry rather than dialectics." Major is thus referred to by Melanchthon in his reply to the censure of the Sorbonne on the opinions

of Luther: "I have seen John Major's Commentaries. He is now, I am told, the prince of Paris divines. Good Heavens! What waggon loads of trifling! What pages he fills with disputes whether there can be any horsemanship without a horse, whether the sea was salt when God made it. If he is a specimen of the Parisian, no wonder they have so little stomach for Luther."

To the movement for intellectual independence Protestantism gave a great impetus. The Reformers, by transferring the note of authority from the Pope to the Bible, at once gave prominence to the idea of intellectual independence, which has for its practical issue the right of private judgment. This followed naturally when the centre of authority was shifted from the Pope to the Bible. In this was contained the germs of an intellectual revolution. As I have already said, if the Pope's utterances are to be taken as divine declarations, there is no need for anxious inquiry on the part of the people. If, on the other hand, the Divine will is revealed in a book, earnest study of it is absolutely indispensable. For the study of the Bible intelligence is needed, and at once Protestantism not only favours but encourages education and learning, not, as in Rome, among a select or a privileged class, but among the

people. The Reformers rightly saw that it was only by taking the people into partnership that they could conquer Rome. In the conflict the mightiest weapon was the open Bible, widely read and understood. Thus we find at the outset the Reformers laying great stress upon education.

In Scotland, in the pre-Reformation period, education was in a very backward state, in spite of the fact noted by Professor Hume Brown that under Roman Catholicism "education was perhaps more widely spread in Scotland than in any other country in Europe." How far from education being general may be inferred from the fact that in 1530 a document was signed by thirty-five of the leading men of Aberdeen, and of these eight were unable to write their names, and in 1554 there were men in Parliament who could not sign their names. The great importance which the Reformers attached to education is reflected in the 'First Book of Discipline' in 1560, where it is insisted that "everie severall churche have a schoolmaister." It was further enacted that fathers must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue. In towns of any reputation the master should be able to teach grammar and Latin, and in notable towns a college should be erected in which the arts might be learned,—at least logic,

rhetoric, and the tongues. The Reformers also formulated an elaborate scheme for remodelling the universities, and in pressing the scheme upon the nobility the Reformers said: "If God shall give you wisdom and grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasure ye are able to procure for them." In 1563 a petition in favour of reform of the University was presented to the Queen and the Lords of the Articles, "in the name of all that within this realm are desyrous that leirning and letters floreis." The scheme was frustrated by the avarice of the nobles.

Notwithstanding the obstacles which faced them, the Reformers went boldly forward with their educational programme. In the words of Dr Hay Fleming, "Learning suffered less, throve better, indeed, under Protestant poverty than under Papistical wealth. On the eve of the Reformation the buildings of Glasgow University appear to have been falling into decay, and by 1549 the University of Aberdeen had sunk so low that the hopes of its founders and first teachers seemed about to be frustrated. New life was thrown into Glasgow by Andrew Melville and into Aberdeen by Alexander Arbuthnot, whose zeal in educational matters

was only equalled by the greatness of their scholarship and the ardour of their Presbyterianism." Striking evidence of the great progress made by Scotland educationally in the years immediately following the Reformation is had in the fact, that while under the *régime* of Romanism students were compelled to finish their education abroad, in the days of Melville, when students left Scotland, it was to teach, not to be taught, in foreign universities. In his life of Andrew Melville, M'Crie brings out the superiority of the Scottish universities very clearly. In 1611, when Melville, after his imprisonment in the Tower of London, was allowed by James VI. to retire to France, the Protestants there had six universities besides fifteen colleges. The number of Scotsmen who taught in these seminaries was great. They were to be found in all the universities and colleges; in several of them they held the honorary situation of principal, and in others they amounted to a third part of the professors. Most of them had been educated under Melville at St Andrews.

Notwithstanding the intellectual impulse received at the Reformation, progress was not sustained in all its earlier vigour. Why? There are those who would have us believe that the principles of the Reformation were

not favourable to intellectual progress. Buckle has done much to popularise this view. Those, like Buckle, who are out of sympathy with the Reforming and Covenanting movements, are only too ready to assume that the intellectual sterility of Scotland during the seventeenth century was due to the paralysing influence of Protestantism. In truth, the sterility was due to the fact that the energies of Scotland were so completely absorbed in the struggle for civil and religious liberty that intellectual progress was for the time arrested. During the disturbed time, Scotland can boast of only one great name in science, Napier of Merchiston; and the fact that in the coming years, when quiet had been restored, Scotland could boast of men distinguished in all branches of knowledge, indicates that the intellectual sterility of the seventeenth century was due, not to dearth of native genius, but to uncongeniality of environment. Viewed properly, the religious conflicts did much to develop the qualities of self-reliance, originality, and individuality which, resting upon the Protestant doctrine of private judgment, gave a great impetus to the philosophic and scientific movement of the eighteenth century.

After the Revolution, when the national mind was enabled to breathe an atmosphere

of political calm and mental leisure, Scotland made remarkable progress, and soon came into intellectual line with England. In his valuable work on European Thought in the Nineteenth Century, Dr Merz, referring to the Scottish universities, notes the close connection between the Reformation and the educational movement, and in the course of a contrast between them and the English universities says: "The universities of Scotland, unlike those of England, instead of nursing an exclusive spirit and encouraging only scanty intercourse between teachers and students, lived in constant exchange of professors and ideas. . . . Though this is destructive of that individual character of the university or the college which is so highly prized by many English fellows, it is certainly most conducive to the progress of study and research, and it is the reason why the universities of Scotland have played so much more important a part than those of England." Whilst England has certainly been great in single names, Scotland, in proportion, has assuredly done more to diffuse modern scientific knowledge.

But the intellectual debt which Scotland owes to Protestantism must not be measured solely by the rise and progress of the

universities. To the people as a body, the Bible was not only the source of spiritual strength, but also a great quickener of the intellectual life. Rome well knew what she was doing when she prohibited the people from reading the Bible. The authorities quite understood that once the Bible, as a divine revelation, was placed in the hands of the laity, the papal claims to infallibility would not stand against its powerful searchlight. The Church, not the Bible, has always been the watchword of Rome. Thus we find Quentin Kennedy, in 1558, saying that God had provided a better way than burdening every private man to read His Word in order to find out all its secrets necessary to salvation. Private men, he continues, ought not to pry into such mysteries as the sacraments, predestination, free-will, and justification. They should rest content with what was taught by General Councils. Protestantism, with its open Bible, struck a fatal blow at the papal doctrine of abject submission to pontifical decrees. The Reformers, taking their stand upon the Bible, had a twofold task to perform. They had to discredit the monstrous claims of the Church of Rome in the temporal sphere, and to discredit its theological creed, upon which the claims rested.

As a system of thought and a practical organisation, Romanism was certainly imposing. Clearly, if Protestantism was to prevail, it was imperative for the Reformers to draw from the Bible a system of theology which would supersede that of Rome, and a politico-ecclesiastical theory which could be substituted for the ultramontanism of Rome. So far as Scotland was concerned, ultramontanism was destroyed at the Reformation, and in regard to the creed, Romanism met a formidable foe in Calvinism, which, by making salvation an individual affair and abolishing priestly mediation, compelled the individual to go, not to the Pope, but to the revealed Word, in order to study for himself the redemptive message. Out of systematic study of the Bible, on the lines of private judgment, was developed the Protestant creed, in the exposition and defence of which the laity as well as the clergy took part, and in doing so the mental faculties of the people were developed to an extraordinary degree. Calvinism was more than a theological creed: it was a philosophy, in which the doctrines of the Bible were so fitted as to present to the Scottish mind a comprehensive view of man in his relation to God and the world. Calvinism raised questions of the deepest import and of

the widest speculative range, and in meditating upon the great mysteries of Creation, Providence, and Redemption, the Scottish mind developed a fondness for abstract thought and abstruse discussions, a characteristic not confined to the highly educated, but to be found among those in the humbler walks of life. In Scotland, in days gone by, when the distractions of modern times did not exist, it was no uncommon thing to find working men, after their day's labour, meeting together to debate such high themes as Predestination. Testimony to the high intellectual value of Protestantism, as embodied in the Confession of Faith, is had from the late Master of Balliol, better known in Scotland as Professor Caird. In his Memoirs of his brother, Principal Caird, he says: "These are still living, who, without being believers in Election or Reprobation, are not sorry that they were educated in a time when the pressure of Calvinism forced them early to begin to think of great questions as to the nature and destiny of man."

Apart from the mental discipline which Protestantism, on the theological side, has given to the Scottish mind, great has been the influence of the open Bible, the heritage of the Reformation. Professor Huxley, who had no leaning to the Church and was

at war with its theology, has left on record his sense of the great value of the Bible as an educational factor and liberator of the mind. "Consider," says Huxley, "the great historical fact that for three centuries this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national Epic of Britain, and is as familiar to gentle and simple from John o' Groats to Land's End as Dante and Tasso once were to the Italian; that it is written in the noblest and finest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of mere literary form; and finally, that it forbids the veriest hind, who never left his native village, to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilisations, and of a great past stretching back to the furthest bounds of the oldest nations of the world. By the study of what other book could children be so much humanised and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between the Eternities?"

From the Bible, too, religious reformers in all ages have drawn inspiration in their contests with despots, sacred and secular. Earthly powers and principalities are tolerated only so long as they harmonise with the divine law. In Scotland we pride ourselves on the heroism

of the Reformers and Covenanters. Whence came their inspiration? From study of the great heroes of biblical and apostolic times, and the rest of the noble band who, in the early days of humanity, fought a valiant fight for freedom of conscience, freedom to worship God in their own way, despite the edicts of despotic rulers. Without the open Bible there would have been no Protestantism, and to-day the Scottish mind would be imprisoned in the dungeons of Romish tyranny and superstition. With Protestantism is bound up all that makes for progress,—freedom of conscience, intellectual development, civil and religious liberty. If history is emphatic in its testimony on one point, it is emphatic in declaring that the Papacy has been the evil genius of civilisation. In the words of Adam Smith: "The Constitution of the Church of Rome may be considered the most formidable combination that was ever formed against the authority and security of civil government as well as against the liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind."

Between Protestantism and Romanism there can be no compromise. Religions which agree to live side by side in the bonds of liberty and mutual toleration have no rivalry save rivalry in good works. But a religion which demands concessions, gives none, and which uses

each concession to realise its ideal of supreme political control, must, in the interests of liberty and progress, be sternly watched. Rome learns nothing and forgets nothing. Now, as in the Middle Ages, the Papacy is a colossal system whose object is the despotic rule of man and society in all spheres, sacred and secular.

In its day of victory, Protestantism is disposed to be magnanimous, and to act on the principle of letting bygones be bygones. Of magnanimity toleration is born. Toleration is good, but Rome looks upon it as weakness, and works it to her own advantage. To Protestants who are disposed to relax their efforts, and in a spirit of charity to think tenderly of Rome, I would recommend the remarks of a Church of England clergyman, the late Canon Melville: "Make peace, if you will, with Popery; receive it into your Senate; shrine it in your churches; plant it in your hearts. But be ye certain—as certain as that there is a heaven above you and a God over you — that the Popery thus honoured and embraced is the very Popery that was loathed and degraded by the holiest of your fathers; the same in haughtiness, the same in intolerance, which lorded it over kings, assumed the prerogative of Deity, crushed human liberty, and slew the Saints of God."

APPENDIX.

ORIGIN AND AIMS OF THE KNOX CLUB.

In Scotland Carlyle's gospel of hero-worship has always been popular. Scotland has never been slow to do homage to her great men. The increasing interest which is taken in Bannockburn Day is an index of the high esteem in which Bruce, the hero of national independence, is held; while the yearly tributes paid to the memories of the Covenanters for their great services on behalf of religion, and to Burns and Scott, as monarchs in the realms of poetry and fiction, testify to the enduring power of the sentiment of hero-worship. And now we have a Knox Club. It may seem strange that some such club had not an earlier origin. The work which Knox did for Scotland is incalculable, but inasmuch as the remembrance of that work tends to keep alive the old feud between Protestantism and Romanism, many people of tolerant temperament shrink from identifying themselves with old antagonisms. The aggressive tactics of Romanism in recent years have convinced large numbers of the clergy and the laity that toleration has its limits, and that the time had come when the principles for which John Knox championed so valiantly should be reasserted. The in-

stitution of the Knox Club was largely due to the revival of Protestant sentiment, which secured in April 1909 the defeat at the Edinburgh School Board election of the proposal to grant free books from public rates to voluntary schools over which the Board had no control. It owes allegiance to no political party and concerns itself only with Scottish questions.

The new Protestant movement is no mere sectarian affair. In Edinburgh, and in all parts of Scotland, there are numbers of men whose interest in ecclesiasticism is of the slightest, but who, in the interest of civil and political liberty, are alive to the danger of Romanism. They feel that the claims of the Roman Catholic Church are incompatible with a healthy civilisation, and they are aware that those claims are being made with increasing insistence and persistence.

The Knox Club has certainly strong support among the Honorary Vice-Presidents and the Moderators of the Established Church and the United Free Church, and also the Moderators of the three smaller Presbyterian bodies—the Free Church, the Reformed Presbyterians, and the Original Seceders. Other Protestant denominations are represented by the Chairmen of the Baptist Union of Scotland and the Congregational Union of Scotland. Among other prominent clergymen who are Hon. Vice-Presidents are Dr Mair, the veteran Established Churchman; the Rev. Principal Whyte and the Rev. Principal George Adam Smith of the United Free Church; and the Rev. Principal M'Culloch of the Free Church. The President is the Rev. Dr Burns of Edinburgh, who took a large part in securing the rout of the Roman Catholics at the School Board election in 1909 in Edinburgh. Dr Hay Fleming, the well-known authority on Scottish history, is one of the Vice-Presidents. The General Secretary and Treasurer is Mr F. J. Robertson,

a member of Edinburgh Town Council. On the National Council, the managing body of the Knox Club, there are fifteen members, of whom five are clergymen. The Established Church is in evidence on the Council by an ex-Moderator, the Rev. Dr Russell, and by the Rev. William Main, minister of Trinity College; the United Free Church by the Rev. A. St Clair Sutherland and the Rev. James Black, brother of Professor Hugh Black; and the Free Church by Professor Macleod. Thus we see men of various parties and Churches united on at least three points, which are briefly defined in the constitution of the Club to be: "1. To promote the study of Scottish history, and in particular, the period of John Knox; 2. To maintain the Protestant succession to the throne, and all existing safeguards thereto; 3. To resist the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to regain its influence in Scotland." Against that phase of Romanism known as Jesuitism, the Knox Club specially directs its efforts. Among the many orders in the Roman Catholic Church, perhaps the most pernicious, on account of its unscrupulousness and its insidiousness, is the famous, or rather the infamous, Order of the Jesuits. In Scotland, in days long gone by, it worked with diabolic energy and subtlety to overturn Protestantism. Relying on our past victories, we are in danger of tolerating a body which other countries have found it necessary to expel from their midst. France would have none of them. The Jesuits who were expelled from France have found in Britain a harbour of refuge. That the enemy is increasing in our midst to a dangerous extent is evident from the statistics given by a writer a few years ago in the 'Sunday at Home.'

The Jesuits, according to this writer, have in this country seven schools, twenty-nine mission residences, and ten staff

establishments in London. The English-speaking "assistency" of the Society of Jesus in 1901 was said to be 2628 members, out of a total membership of 15,145. Of the 2628 Jesuits who spoke English, 1259 were stationed in the British empire. The writer mentioned continues as follows: "As to the total of foreign Roman Catholics in this country at present, it is impossible to give an approximate figure beyond stating that now there are at least fifty-eight congregations of foreign Catholics represented amongst us. As to the increase in Roman Catholic religious establishments in England (omitting Scotland and Ireland), it is striking when stated in this form: In 1870 there were 299 Catholic establishments; in 1903 there were 990." Taking Great Britain as a whole, during the last fifty years, Roman priests have increased from 958 to 4075, Roman churches from 683 to 2021, religious houses from 70 to 1127; while in 1907 there were 115 members of Parliament—34 in the House of Commons and 81 in the House of Lords.

With Rome, increase of numbers means increase of energy. No chance is lost of enslaving the conscience of the people and destroying their civil and religious liberties. Thus at one time we find Jesuitism seeking to tamper with the Protestant succession, and at another time invading the home and destroying domestic peace with its scandalous *Ne Temere* decree. As to the corrupting influence of Romanism, Mr Gladstone has spoken with no uncertain voice. In his 'Life' by Lord Morley will be found a remarkable letter by Mr Gladstone to the Duchess of Sutherland, which runs as follows: "The proselytising agency of the Roman Church in this country I take to be one of the worst of the religious influences of the age. I do not mean as to its motives, for these I do not presume to touch nor feel in any way called upon to

question. But I speak of its effects, and they are most deplorable. The social misery that has been caused, not for truth but for loss of truth, is grievous enough; but it is not all, for to those who are called converts, and to those who have made them, we owe a very large proportion of the mischiefs and scandals of our own communion that have destroyed the faith of many, and that are, I fear, undermining the very principle of faith in thousands and tens of thousands, who, as yet, suspect neither the process nor the cause. With this pernicious agency I, for my own part, wish to have nothing whatever to do." The popularity of the Knox Club is encouraging evidence that at last the people of Scotland are awakening to a keen sense of the pernicious nature of Romanism, and now, as in days of yore, Protestantism is prepared in the spirit of the Reformers to do battle in the cause of religious and civil liberty.

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